

Innovative strategies against exclusionary narratives

The case of Italy

Andrea Pogliano and Annalisa Frisina

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Authors

Andrea Pogliano is Associate Professor at the University of Piemonte Orientale, where he's President of the degree course in Social Work, and FIERI researcher. Within the BRIDGES project, he collaborated on four research packages as a member of FIERI. He has a PhD in sociology from the University of Milan. He was a Marie-Curie scholar at the IRESCO-CNRS in Paris and a research fellow at the EHESS. His main lines of research are in media, journalism, photojournalism and migrations and in cultural sociology. With Irene Ponzo from FIERI he got the grant *Forced migration flows and asylum as a policy response* from the Urban Communication Foundation (UCF) of New York. His last book is *Media, politica e migrazioni in Europa* [Media, politics and migrations in Europe] edited by Carocci in 2019.

Annalisa Frisina is Associate Professor at the University of Padua and Fieri associate. She teaches qualitative and visual methods for undergraduate, graduate and doctoral students. Her main research interests are in sociology of racism and migrations. Her participatory video "Decolonising the City. Visual Dialogues in Padova" (with E. Campagni) received a Visual Research Award in 2021, by the International Visual Sociology Association. Her last book is *Contemporary Racisms. Sociological Perspectives* (Carocci 2020) and (with S. A. Kyeremeh) she published *Music and words against racism. A qualitative study with racialized artists in Italy*, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (2022). She is Scientific Coordinator and P.I. for the local unity of the national research project (PRIN, 2022-2025) *Mobilities, solidarities and imaginaries across the borders: the mountain, the sea, the urban and the rural as spaces of transit and encounters*.

Reviewers

Ferruccio Pastore and Markus Rheindorf

Contents

Abstract.....	4
1. Introduction.....	5
2. Specific empirical approach.....	5
3. Mapping of initiatives that challenge political discourses of exclusion.....	7
4. Io Accolgo (“I welcome”).....	10
4.1 Context and timeframes.....	10
4.2 Main actors and networks of the initiative.....	12
4.3 Objectives.....	14
4.4 Main actions and public representation.....	15
4.5 Narratives.....	18
4.6 Innovativeness and success.....	20
5. Dalla parte giusta della storia (“On the right side of history”).....	24
5.1 Context and timeframes.....	24
5.2 Main actors and networks of the initiative.....	26
5.3 Objectives.....	28
5.4 Main actions and public representation.....	29
5.5 Narratives.....	33
5.6 Innovativeness and success.....	37
6. Conclusions.....	38
References.....	41
Appendix A: Mapping data.....	42
Appendix B: List of interviewees.....	76

Abstract

As in other European countries, in Italy political discourses of exclusion circulate widely in the public sphere, especially with the rise of the extreme right-wing parties in the last years. Such discourses against migrants and their descendants are challenged by actors of the Italian civil society who strive for changing narratives of exclusion in many different ways. After a mapping of fifteen recent initiatives that stand out for their innovative strategies and their success in spreading inclusive narratives across all Italy, two of them have been selected for an in-depth analysis. *Io Accolgo* (“I welcome”) is a wide network of organisations and a campaign raised in 2018 to oppose several aspects of the security decrees passed that year, especially those aspects that downsized the reception system for asylum seekers and refugees. As for *Dalla parte giusta della storia* (“On the Right Side of History”), this is a movement born in 2020, after a gestation within the networks and organisations of children of migrants campaigning for the reform of the citizenship law and to counter institutional racism. Both initiatives are performed by non-hegemonic actors and they can be considered innovative and successful based on the parameters proposed by Garcés-Mascareñas and Pastore (2022). Drawing on a qualitative methodological approach based on sixteen interviews and document analysis, this report examines the data with a special focus on the construction of networks, the communication strategies adopted and the narratives produced.

Keywords: migration narratives, narrative success, inclusive narratives, Italy, civil society, *Io Accolgo*, *Dalla parte giusta della storia*

1. Introduction

As in other European countries, in Italy political discourses of exclusion circulate widely in the public sphere, especially with the rise of the extreme right-wing parties in the last years. Such discourses against migrants and their descendants are challenged by actors of the Italian civil society who strive for changing narratives of exclusion in many different ways. Following the research questions of the BRIDGES project, this report examines the initiatives which managed to succeed in challenging exclusionary migration narratives in the Italian context.

After presenting the mapping of fifteen recent and innovative initiatives, the report will focus on two of them. *Io Accolgo* (“I welcome”) is a wide network of organisations and a campaign raised in 2018 to oppose several aspects of the security decrees passed that year, especially those aspects that downsized the reception system for asylum seekers and refugees, while *Dalla parte giusta della storia* (“On the right side of history”) – from now on *DPGS* – is a movement born in 2020, after a gestation within the networks and organisations of children of migrants campaigning for the reform of the citizenship law and counter institutional racism. Both initiatives are performed by non-hegemonic actors and they can be considered innovative and successful on the basis of the two parameters (pervasiveness and transformativity) proposed by Garcés-Masareñas and Pastore (2022). Regarding pervasiveness, the two selected initiatives had very good visibility in mainstream journalistic media and also in social media. Especially the *Dalla parte giusta della storia* campaign diversified the use of social media (from Facebook to Instagram to TikTok), reaching different audiences. Concerning transformativity, both initiatives helped to aggregate progressive public opinion. *Io Accolgo* had a good political impact, moving some political actors in terms of the urgency to reform the security decrees, once the government changed. *DPGS* had an important impact on media and culture, introducing an alternative frame to discuss the need of the reform of Italian citizenship law, as an issue of social justice relevant for all the Italian society and not only for migrants and their descendants.

The report is structured as follows: after this introduction and a methodological section, there is a mapping of innovative initiatives which are fully included in the Appendix A. Then there are two sections offering in-depth analysis of our two case studies. The analysis unfolds covering key items such as the context and timeframes, main actors and network of the initiatives, objectives, main actions and public representation, narratives, innovativeness and success, making use of empirical material to illustrate the findings. Finally, some conclusions are drawn developing a comparison between the two cases.

2. Specific empirical approach

Following the objectives of WP4, the research has adopted a qualitative methodological approach with two main phases. The first one consisted of a mapping of initiatives and practices led by different civil society actors that intend to challenge political discourses of exclusion. The selection of the initiatives has followed several criteria. First, they all relate to the three sub-genres identified in WP3, with some adjustments in line with the WP4 rationale. In this sense, the initiatives associated with the first sub-genre have to do with arrivals and the management of national/EU borders. In relation to the second sub-genre, several initiatives have to do with issues of integration, citizenship, and regularisation once migrants

are already settled in the host countries. Finally, as regards the third sub-genre, there are initiatives that have to do with white supremacy terrorist attacks. Other important criteria for the selection of the initiatives have to do with their relevance in the current context, their innovativeness especially in terms of narratives' production, and their success 'measured' as the ability to shape dominant narratives and achieve resonance in the public sphere.

The mapping has been undertaken through desk-research technique by reviewing texts on websites, press releases, flyers, social media posts and videos. On some occasions, short conversations have been kept with some actors involved in the initiatives to complement the documents' review. This information has been systematised following a common template and the results can be found in the Appendix A of this report. Besides the description of each initiative along items such as launch date, key actors, aims and strategies, a more analytical exercise has allowed the identification of several narratives that represent core topics related to migration emerging from the ground in the current context of exclusionary debates.

Once the mapping was finished, the second phase consisted of an in-depth study of the discursive strategies and practices, as well as of the narratives' success factors, of two initiatives arising from the mapping. In the case of Italy, these are related to the two first sub-genres: *Io Accolgo* (I Welcome) representing the topic on arrivals and *DPGS* (On the Right Side of History) representing the topic on integration and citizenship. For the first case study (*Io Accolgo*) six in-depth interviews were conducted with different members of the initiatives, while eight interviews have been produced for the second case study (*DPGS*) (see list of interviewees in Appendix B). The interviews followed an interview guide to allow the comparative analysis across the three national cases, yet with some adaptations to better tailor the conversation according to each individual's background. All the interviews were undertaken online between May and June 2022. Finally, all interviews were recorded and transcribed following the pseudo-anonymisation agreements of the BRIDGES project, and analysed considering the key items of this report.

The choice of the two case studies was made following a number of considerations. First of all is the variety of initiatives in terms of sub-genres we already mentioned. Secondly, we selected these two campaigns as *prima facie* particularly successful. Although the success of the initiatives will be better articulated in the research, for the selection of cases the evidence of success was deduced following the criterion of media visibility. The two selected initiatives had very good visibility in mainstream journalistic media and also in social media. A further selection criterion concerned innovation. For *DPGS*, evidence of innovation concerns both the choice to move away from the us vs. them opposition typical of other campaigns for citizenship for migrant children, and the use of social media (from Facebook to Instagram to TikTok), creating different contents for different audiences (innovation in terms of strategies). With regard to *Io Accolgo*, the innovative aspect concerned above all the ability to create a broad coalition of organisations (Catholic, secular, large, small, with specific objectives that were also very different) and to try to make them speak with one voice, bringing together autonomous and joint initiatives in the same campaign. Finally, both initiatives are very recent and still active.

3. Mapping of initiatives that challenge political discourses of exclusion

The mapping in Italy has included a total of fifteen initiatives, five of them related to arrivals and borders, six to issues of citizenship and regularisation and four to terrorism/violent attacks. Thirteen of them are quite recent, launched in 2015 or later.

TABLE 1: Summary of initiatives in Italy

Sub-genre	Name of initiative	Launch year	Primary objectives	Territorial scope	Main topics
Arrivals and management of borders	Io Accolgo	2018	Abolish the security decree and spread a solidarity and welcoming message	Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Welcome Refugees in reception crises • Counteracting a culture of hatred towards refugees and migrants
	Caserma Montello	2016	Guarantee a dignified and transparent welcome to the 300 new inhabitants who have arrived at the Montello barracks and a peaceful coexistence with the neighbourhood.	Local (Lombardia)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal reception of refugees at a local level • Counter political exploitation and polarisation of the issue of welcoming refugees
	Linea d'ombra	2019	Make the living conditions of refugees less unbearable; denounce the unacceptable situations in the camps (along the Balkan route) and the inhuman behaviour of the border police	Trieste and Bosnia (European level)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • European solidarity towards refugees
	Passports , no more privileges	2021	Review visa policy and guarantee freedom of movement	Italy and Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobility inequalities
	Eufemia. I sommersi e i salvati	2016	Supporting freedom of movement; creating a lab for a new narrative of migration	Ventimiglia: Italy and France	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobility inequalities

Sub-genre	Name of initiative	Launch year	Primary objectives	Territorial scope	Main topics
Citizenship, regularisation and integration	Ero straniero	2017	A popular initiative law focusing on reception, work and inclusion for migrants, to overcome the Bossi-Fini law	Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residence permit • Legal entrance • Regularization
	Discriminazione e Servizio Civile Nazionale	2012	Anti-discriminatory acts through trials, allowing young migrants and 2 nd generation the access to the National Civil Service	Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-discrimination • Citizenship
	Punjab Pontino	2015	Supporting migrant workers in agriculture for changing their working and housing conditions	The Italian area of Pontino and Lazio Region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dignity at work and in housing conditions
	G2 Network	2005	Recognizing the Italian citizenship for children of migrants; transforming the idea of Italianness; sharing identities	Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship reform • Identity
	Italiani senza cittadinanza	2016	Approving the reform of citizenship law; fighting other discriminatory juridical norms	Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship reform • Anti-discrimination
	Dalla parte giusta della storia	2020	Approving the reform of citizenship law; fighting racism	Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship reform • Anti-racism
	I'm in Heaven	2020	Making the victims of racist violence visible and stimulate a discussion on racism in the local civil society in Macerata (where events took place)	The city of Macerata and Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-racism

Sub-genre	Name of initiative	Launch year	Primary objectives	Territorial scope	Main topics
Terrorism and violent attacks	Contro ogni fascismo, razzismo e sessismo	2018	Elaborating collectively the trauma of the racist attack and contesting racist propaganda	Macerata and Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-racism
	In memory of Soumaila Sacko	2018	Anti-racism by keeping alive the memory of Soumaila Sacko; supporting migrant workers in agriculture	Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-racism • Dignity at work and in housing conditions
	In memory of Idy Diene	2018	Create an anti-racist network and a local debate on racism attacks; and pursuing migrant's rights on several issues	Florence and Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-racism • Migrant's rights

Regarding the topic of arrivals and border management, the mapping for Italy includes five initiatives, launched between 2016 and 2021. Three of them connect local levels with the European discourse of mobility inequalities, addressing the issue from different angles and with different methods. *Passport, no more privileges*, which is the most recent, addresses the issue of visa policies, of which it calls for a national and European review, through the instruments of a petition and a communication campaign involving professional journalists. The campaign also aims to redefine the reasons why people migrate, to highlight the reasons why they are forced to do so illegally, and to show the ineffectiveness of controversial human rights measures such as agreements with non-EU countries to detain migrants. *I sommersi e i salvati* turns its attention to the Ventimiglia border between Italy and France and the refugees attempting to cross the French border. The obstacle to freedom of movement in this case is not visa policies, but the Dublin regulation. Besides supporting freedom of movement and denouncing border violence, the operation is also strongly cultural, with artistic works and a process of discussion between art and social sciences to rewrite a narrative of contemporary migration and borders. *Linea d'Ombra* operates instead in the east, in the city of Trieste, where volunteers help and care for refugees arriving in Italy from the Balkan route, and above all in Bosnia, supporting Bosnian associations financially. This initiative, too, aims to promote a different narrative of migration and does so with the constant activism of its volunteers also as communicators.

Io Accolgo (see section 4) is instead a mainly communicative campaign born in reaction to the 2018 security decrees that mainly affected the reception system for asylum seekers and refugees. Its ambition is therefore strictly national. Finally, *Caserma Montello* was created in response to the criminalisation of asylum seekers following their internal relocations operated by the prefecture in small or large Italian municipalities. It is primarily an attempt to manage the reception and peaceful coexistence of neighbourhoods, avoiding

further political exploitation on a local and national scale, with the consequent exacerbation of polarisation.

Regarding the topic of citizenship, regularisation and integration the mapping includes six initiatives. Three of these are different developments of actions by children of immigrants to demand reform of the Italian law regulating citizenship: *the G2 network*, founded in 2005, *Italiani senza cittadinanza*, born in 2016, and *DPGS*, a 2020 campaign (see section 5). Over the years, strategies have changed and also the scope of initiatives, from a battle for citizenship to a political and cultural struggle that also includes the broader issues of inequality, discrimination and structural racism. Discrimination in relation to citizenship is also central to the (mainly legal) battle in 2012 by the *Associazione Studi Giuridici sull'Immigrazione* (Immigration Law Studies Association) to allow young people without citizenship to take part in the public call for National Civil Service. *Punjab pontino* is a local but articulated initiative that combines sociological research in the field with community-building initiatives and demands for rights and a dignified life for seasonal workers (mainly Indians from the Punjab) in an area of Lazio, up to the production of knowledge (research reports) and an interlocution with local administrations for changes in laws. The last initiative considered for this sub-genre is *Ero straniero*. It stems from the desire to change the migration regulation mechanisms established by the current law. It is a campaign created to promote a popular initiative law (signed by over 90,000 citizens) called "new rules for the promotion of regular residence permits and social and labour inclusion of non-EU foreign citizens. In line with the great ambition of the initiative, the network supporting it is very broad and includes large parts of civil society, but also hundreds of mayors and is led by political actors from the radical party, even receiving the support of Pope Francis.

Regarding the topic of terrorism and violent attacks the four initiatives mapped originate in reaction to events of racist violence. Two initiatives are connected to the attempted racist massacre perpetrated by Luca Traini, who shot black bystanders in the city of Macerata in 2018. One (*I'm in Heaven*) is a documentary movie to give a voice to the victims of that event, which the mainstream media had basically ignored, the other is an anti-racist initiative that combines a street demonstration with a local dialogue and reworking of the city's trauma. The other two initiatives react to as many murders with racist motives, one in Florence and the other in Reggio Calabria, also in 2018. In addition to building an anti-racist network, the initiatives campaigned for migrant workers' rights, the victims being a street worker and a trade union activist engaged in seasonal agricultural work.

4. Io Accolgo ("I welcome")

4.1 Context and timeframes

The *Io Accolgo* ("I Welcome") campaign was launched at a time when the leader of the right-wing party the *League* (former Northern League), Matteo Salvini, was Minister of the Interior. It was a period marked by the institutionalisation of xenophobic language and by political actions strongly oriented towards the exclusion of migrants. The most discussed political actions were the so-called policy of "closed ports" (*Porti chiusi*) and the attempt to criminalise NGOs active in search and rescue, including the case of Sea Watch and Carola Rackete (Maneri et al., 2023), but also the adoption by the Parliament of the security decrees, also

called - by the media - 'Salvini decrees'. The security decrees covered various aspects. With regard to asylum seekers and refugees, in particular, they abolished humanitarian protection, overhauled the entire reception system, limiting access, and prohibited asylum seekers from obtaining civil registration. The decrees also intervened in the regulations for applying for citizenship, lengthening waiting times and introducing the revocation of citizenship in the case of committing terrorism-related crimes, only for those who have acquired it. Finally, it introduced new measures to limit rescues at sea by NGOs.

The polarisation of the public opinion on the issue of migration became even more extreme during this period than it already had been, and the League greatly increased its consensus in the country, as many polls estimated and as reflected in the League's great result in the 2019 European elections (over 34% of the votes). The general feeling was that the propaganda carried out by Minister Salvini was leading ambivalent audiences to radicalise their anti-migration stance.

The 'beast', a popular nickname for the social communication system built over the previous years by Matteo Salvini and coordinated by social media manager Luca Morisi, seemed almost invincible in those days, capable as it was of spreading hate speech about migrants and political opponents.

Added to the propaganda effectiveness was the risk of a radical transformation of the reception system for asylum seekers and refugees. In fact, the security decrees presented a profound reform of the system.

In the words of one of the main promoters of the *Io Accolgo* campaign, it was "a moment of very strong attack on the rights of migrants, never before seen in Italy in such proportions" (IT_I_IA3).

The first of the two security decrees came into force at the end of 2018, about six months into the formation of the government led by Giuseppe Conte, and it is around that date that the *Io Accolgo* campaign - which would then be/was officially launched in June 2019 - began to take shape. The second decree came into effect on June 14 2019, the day after the campaign's official launch.

During the months of gestation, the network of promoters was built, and a common manifesto was produced, which was the result of a process of negotiation between organisations that are rather heterogeneous in terms of ideological orientation and size. It was also a period of widespread discussions around objectives and strategies. After the launch of the campaign on 13 June 2019, there followed days of great vibrancy and activism which saw a sharp increase in memberships and achieved wide coverage in the mainstream media. However, on 20 August 2019, the government collapsed at the hands of Matteo Salvini himself, and on 5 September a new government was formed, supported by a different majority, of which the League was no longer a part, while the main centre-left party, the *Partito Democratico* (PD, Democratic Party) was. This sudden and unexpected political upheaval had profound consequences for the *Io Accolgo* campaign, which changed strategies and objectives, from then on favouring political lobbying actions. As of February 2020, the political management of the Covid-19 health emergency made meetings and in-person activities impossible, scaling back the ambitions of the campaign. In December 2020, the so-called "Lamorgese decree", named after the Interior Minister of the new government, was approved, largely modifying the security decrees wanted by Salvini. This passage, in which the promoters of the *Io Accolgo*

campaign claim an important role, marked a further turning point for the campaign, which since then has experienced a long phase of low productivity that continues to this day.

4.2 Main actors and networks of the initiative

Io Accolgo was born spontaneously as a reaction to the political and cultural context mentioned above. Most of the organisations and associations promoting it were already working together in two main networks: the Asylum and Immigration Table (*Tavolo asilo e immigrazione*), which has been active since the beginning of the millennium and has an advisory and political lobbying role on the issue of reception, and *Europa Asilo*, established 11 years ago and bringing together 25 historical reception organisations scattered throughout Italy.

Within a short span of time, thanks to the pre-existing networks, a promoter committee was created consisting of 44 actors, national and local, small and large, secular and catholic, some already organised as a network nationwide. The *Io Accolgo* campaign can be interpreted as the cultural arm of the Asylum and Immigration Table, which has a technical advisory nature for policy and has never sought a space of public visibility.

‘Since the Asylum and Immigration Table does more of a specialised work of document analysis and political lobbying, we thought the campaign could do some work on the cultural level and on the representation of the issue.’ (IT_I_IA1)

‘If the Asylum and Immigration Table is the place where we build mediation and relations with institutions and powers, *Io Accolgo* was the cultural arm through which certain messages were launched. (...) We then also opened up to grassroots associations, local groups, the Ethical Bank Foundation... not strictly to those who only dealt with immigration and reception. So much so that we were 40 as first adherents, plus those adhering from below, through the website. The number of adhesions quickly reached a few thousand from organisations or individuals.’ (IT_I_IA5)

In fact, from the very beginning, the promoters of the campaign had the shared intuition to involve collective actors who were not exclusively or even specifically engaged in the reception of migrants and refugees. Thus, actors such as trade unions, cultural associations such as Lunaria, associations of migrants’ children such as CoNNGI (*Coordinamento Nuove Generazioni Italiane* – Coordination network new Italian generations) and *Italiani senza cittadinanza* (Italians without citizenship), and many others joined the network. Ordinary people and collective local actors were asked to adhere, to buy (via web site) a thermal blanket (a symbol of search and rescue activities in the Mediterranean Sea), to show it from windows, to organize solidarity events, to use social media to spread solidarity ideas, etc.

Given the breadth of the network, the organisation immediately set up a restricted coordination committee composed of around fifteen people, members of ‘Europa Asilo, Intersos, Legambiente, UIL, CGIL, Asgi, Evangelical Churches, Caritas, CNCA, ARCI, Action Aid, Lunaria, and a network of associations from the school sector’ (IT_I_IA1). In addition to the coordination committee, ‘there is an assembly with members from all the realities that are part of *Io Accolgo* that reaches almost a hundred people. And then there is a third level that also involves the local coordinations’ (IT_I_IA4).

The drafting of the manifesto - which anticipated the launch of the campaign - was the testing ground. In fact, although the promoting associations were already working together, they had never before been confronted with a campaign of this kind.

‘The first step was to construct a document that would try to hold together as a glue all these realities so different in size, ideas and political inspiration. The latter was no small hurdle. It was a chisel work, led by the leaders. Everyone got it right, not least because there was a need to make things public quickly. (...) The differences were of political and administrative nuance and the strength to be given to that document (moderates and radicals).’ (IT_I_IA4)

The campaign lived off self-funding (each association in the promoting committee donated a share) and small funding from the Open Society Foundation.

One association of refugees (UNIRE) and two run by descendants of migrants (CoNNGI and Italians Without Citizenship) were also involved in the promoting committee. There are two main reasons for this alliance. One was that the security decrees also touched on issues concerning citizenship, which has always been the central battle of the associations of migrant children. The other reason is explained by the following words:

‘We had tried to involve migrant and refugee organisations in the promoting committee because we felt it was an important element of protagonism and to avoid what we always do, which is to speak about the rights of people who are not represented in the bodies that speak about them.’ (IT_I_IA3)

An interesting aspect of this network concerns the positioning of the associations involved with respect to power and politics. In fact, alongside national organisations that maintain constant contacts with politics and manage important networks and resources, dealing with asylum seekers reception but also with many other aspects, there are small local associations that deal solely with reception. Their position - from rather mainstream to radically critical - is very different, as is their proximity to political parties.

‘At the local level here in Rome, at least in the beginning we had migrant associations joining in. (...) But here we also need to understand how to do things together. I say this because the new subjectivities that are moving today have ways of working, collaborating and expressing themselves very different from ours. Since *Io Accolgo* was a campaign that involved very structured associations, with slow, cumbersome, bureaucratic modes of operation, it does not encourage much... We, for example, had several young people who had become affiliated at a local level, in Rome, but they lost their way. This was due to a divergence of objectives, but above all to an incompatibility of working methods. Probably our methods are no longer sufficient to guarantee participation that is truly bottom-up.’ (IT_I_IA2)

The low participation of migrants’ and local associations is explained in various ways by the interviewees. Among these are the bureaucratic inertia of some organisations coordinating the network, the pandemic - which has limited the possibilities for action - as well as the objective incompatibility of a top-down, nationally driven campaign and spontaneous, bottom-up initiatives.

(...) the local level is very fragmented, even historically, and it is difficult to keep it together. Each one has its own particularity and finds it hard to work with that of its neighbour. But in general the campaigns in Italy – I'm also thinking of the referendum campaigns and others on migration - are campaigns launched nationally that say: these are the tools, let's collect signatures, and then we have the gadget... Everything rains down from above. We wanted to reverse this flow, or at least have both. But this happened in part. I think we failed to explain this mode well. Progressive civil society wasn't ready, it was waiting, and the organisations didn't really understand what they had to do together.' (IT_I_IA5)

Along with these explanations, the positioning of some organisations in the network with respect to forms of cultural hegemony could serve as another important explanation for the relative lack of active participation of migrants' and local associations.

4.3 Objectives

Even before defining specific goals, the overarching objective was the need to join forces and resist what was felt as a direct attack. This is expressed by multiple interviewees:

'It was an emergency and there was an urgency to network so as not to be overwhelmed.' (IT_I_IA4)

'[[It was a question of resistance to a repressive and reactionary culture impersonated by the Minister of the Interior.' (IT_I_IA5)

'In this context of restricted rights and heavy-handed public rhetoric, a group of organisations felt compelled to intervene.' (IT_I_A2)

The sense of siege, the fear of being overwhelmed, and the need to resist led to an initial intuition, which is one of the specificities of this initiative: to unite as many organisations and people as possible and offer a loudspeaker to these dissident voices.

'[[It was crucial to make the whole world working in the reception of asylum seekers speak with one voice.' (IT_I_IA4)

In terms of communication, this ambition was immediately translated into a strategy of gaining visibility through a branding operation. The strategy was to include every voice that was relevant to the campaign under the logo and symbols of the *Io Accolgo* campaign, to make a heterogeneous and sometimes conflicting world speak with one voice. This goal was achieved as long as Salvini remained minister. With the fall of the government and the formation of the second government led by Conte (this time with a centre-left majority), differences resurfaced and voices began to disperse.

Other shared objectives of the campaign can be summarised as follows:

- Promoting a wide-ranging cultural action to counteract xenophobia and racism;
- Putting the principles of solidarity, equality and non-discrimination on the agenda;
- Give visibility to the large number of grassroots refugee reception initiatives implemented by the network's member organisations;

- Putting political pressure to cancel the security decrees.

The objectives of the campaign stand on two distinct levels, from which part of the ambiguity of the initiative stems. There is in fact a cultural level, which needs public visibility and communication, and which targets public opinion as a whole, and a political level which welds the concrete concerns for the reception system, which was scaled down and overturned by the decrees, with the issue of the rights of asylum seekers and refugees. This dualism created some ambiguity between the *Io Accolgo* campaign and the ordinary lobbying that the promoters already habitually carry out with the Asylum and Immigration Table. Again, it is this dualism that made the objectives not always clear to new adherents. Some say that the objective of the campaign was to enhance visibility, so as to have more strength to exert political pressure. From this perspective, converting the undecided (the so-called “movable middle”) and trying to influence public opinion was not a crucial goal. What mattered was mobilising progressives and obtaining good press coverage. However, this was a matter of debate within the network and there were also some exploratory moves made in a different direction. As recalled by one of the organisers:

‘The main objective was to raise public awareness and then to have a change in policies and regulations because it was public opinion that demanded it. (...) This was a job for which we got in touch with an organisation that works on how to get in touch with the movable middle and is based in Berlin. (...) But within *Io Accolgo* there were different sensitivities about how much it was worth investing in this.’ (IT_I_IA3)

These different visions of the campaign’s goals emerge from the interviews: one more pragmatic and committed to compacting progressive civil society, the other more ambitious and committed to converting minds; one linked to the idea that lobbying benefits from media visibility, the other linked to the value of the majority and democratic theory played on persuasion.

Another divide among the members of the coalition concerns the active participation of refugees, migrants and children of migrants. For some it was a crucial and partly missed objective, for others it does not seem to be a crucial step to achieve the main, practical and short-term goal, i.e., lobbying for a change in the security decrees.

In other words, there was constant tension between a short-term approach, which had clear and concrete objectives, and a long-term approach, which aimed to change culture (and public opinion). The clear and concrete short-term goals are in fact set out in both the manifesto and the petition, and they refer to precise changes and deletions of certain points in the security decrees. The long-term approach, on the other hand, gives rise to the main narratives that we find at the beginning of the manifesto and which define aspects of values and identity.

4.4 Main actions and public representation

As indicated above, the dual nature of the campaign involved objectives on a double level: that of political pressure and that of public visibility and the attempt to influence public opinion. From the outset, both were pursued through a series of actions.

The action that is still described by the promoters as the most successful was the first: the flash mob and press conference that launched the initiative. What had been done up to that

point had in fact not yet sought visibility, despite months of networking, meetings to define the common manifesto, discussions on strategies, the development of the website, with the help of a communications agency, and the definition of the campaign name and coordinated images (see below on Narratives).

Having decided to launch the *Io Accolgo* campaign with a flash mob that would immediately give great visibility to the initiative, the promoters made three winning moves: they chose an important location such as Piazza di Spagna in Rome, they devised a high-impact choreography, using thermal blankets (a symbol of search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean) that transformed the large staircase of the square into a 'golden expanse' and, above all, they did a great deal of press office work with the most important newspapers and television stations. On the same day, the initiative's website, Facebook page and Instagram page were launched and were immediately 'coloured' by images of the flash mob.

It was a great success. A picture was even published by *The Guardian* as picture of the day. Italian news broadcasts and newspapers gave wide coverage to the initiative. The visibility produced a double effect that the promoters had hoped for: the manifesto's political points circulated in the media, and a part of progressive civil society found a space to identify with. This second aspect was clearly visible in the number of new adhesions, in the visits to the website and Facebook page, in the likes and shares, but also in the spontaneous initiatives that replicated the flash mob in the squares of other Italian cities, whose images were immediately uploaded on the *Io Accolgo* Facebook page.

'One intuition from the beginning was to create local committees. Many of the realities that are part of *Io Accolgo* are already networks with local branches (ARCI, Caritas, CGIL). Then it was asked to set up *Io Accolgo* committees in the territories. And many local committees were created, with national coordination. The logo was used and is still used by the territories for initiatives, activities, events at local level. This worked very well in the first period. In Parma we brought 1,200 people, which is a lot for Parma. At that time everyone was ready to demonstrate against Salvini. People were just waiting for coordination and *Io Accolgo* had managed to do this.' (IT_I_IA4)

The collection of signatures for the petition against the security decrees was the second significant action. The promoters went into the streets with signature collection stalls to talk to people. On the level of political pressure, the petition served above all to put pressure on the progressive and centre-left parties, which were in opposition at the time. For those among the campaigners who proposed a practical and lobbying approach, the petition was quite successful, despite the fact that the numbers of signatories were relatively low. For those who aimed to have a deeper impact on public opinion, the action was considered ineffective.

'We collected signatures around Italy at organised events, as a pretext to talk to people about these things. In a polarised context as it was at the time, being able to get in touch with people who don't think like us requires skills. It's not easy, and you need preparation that we didn't have... We tried a little bit, but we did it in an amateurish way. (...) We then delivered the signatures at a meeting with political representatives, but it was an action with limited impact.' (IT_I_IA3)

The work of producing content to report on good practices in the reception of asylum seekers - which was another of the campaign's objectives - was limited to a few products.

'In the first period we also produced something, asking all the members of *Io Accolgo*, and especially the large national realities already structured as a network, to send news, information, stories... Sometimes they were recycled things. The flash mob video was made by an agency we had approached, which also produced some videos. (...) [They were] stories of refugees who had had a good reception experience, also to emphasise that a good reception is an added value for the whole community... Other stories advertised interesting territorial projects (e.g., housing for people leaving traditional projects).' (IT_I_IA4)

'For ARCI, for example, we used the *Circoli Rifugio* (Refuge Clubs) project, i.e., a network of clubs that took in people who temporarily remain on the streets: a temporary reception in search of a stable situation. Or the Caritas family reception, or some territorial realities that have presented their positive experiences, which we have both published on the website and social media, and promoted with the press.' (IT_I_IA1)

The attempt to expand the network to include young people had little success, partly because the promoters favoured the Facebook page over other social channels, betting and investing much less on Instagram and ignoring TikTok altogether.

The work with journalists from the mainstream media was not innovative. After the undisputed success of the launch, they proceeded with classic press releases to report on other initiatives that were being produced. Constant press coverage was obtained, at least in the first months, but limited to progressive newspapers of the secular and Catholic area (*il Manifesto*, *La Repubblica*, *Avvenire*) and third sector magazines such as *Vita*. The privileged relationship between movement organisations and news outlets that are close in terms of political orientation is a constant that emerges from much research (Ortiz et al. 2005; Amenta et al. 2017) and leads to reasoning about the difficulty of obtaining wider news coverage in contexts marked by strong media-political polarisation. Little was invested in the use of Twitter, which could have allowed direct communication with journalists and political actors. One reason for this can be found in the composition of the network, whose heterogeneity – combined with the rigid and complex internal hierarchies of some of the main organisations – did not allow for rapid communication and interaction. The result was a conservative choice that on social media favoured a classic mode of storytelling through posts on Facebook, a few pictures on Instagram and a static website.

An action that is complementary to the *Io Accolgo* campaign, but that consolidated an important link between the main promoters of the campaign itself and the association of children of migrants, Italians Without Citizenship was the flash mob in front of Parliament for the reform of the law to acquire Italian citizenship. According to a member of Italians Without Citizenship (Paula Baudet Vivanco), this joint initiative, then publicised on the *Io Accolgo* Facebook page, led many people and associations to start following the initiatives of Italians Without Citizenship through social networks, thus creating potential new alliances.

One action that had good success was the mail bombing campaign addressed to the government to ask it not to sign the renewal of the Memorandum with Libya: the agreement that the former centre-left government led by Paolo Gentiloni reached with the Libyan leaderships in 2017 in order to ensure patrolling of Libyan territorial waters coast in order to reduce migrant departures, and which led to situations of blatant human rights violations documented by several NGOs.

‘Together with the flash mob, [the mail bombing] was the second moment that brought the campaign to the centre of the national public debate. We posted the request on the *Io Accolgo* website and social networks. This also opened up a front for political discussion. For me it helped the positive political processes that followed. So much so that the undersecretary, of the Democratic Party, Mauri, who then worked on the Lamorgese decree, was very open to the issues we proposed. (...) Then it was also adopted by other organisations that did not participate in *Io Accolgo*. It became very popular.’ (IT_I_IA5)

Considering the size and the heterogeneity of the network the agreement on such an action in a short time wasn’t obvious. Moreover, it should be considered that the Memorandum with Libya had been signed by a centre-left-led government and that the mail bombing action was aimed at the new government, in which the Democratic Party played an important role. The proximity of some organisations to the country’s main progressive party has led to attitudes of caution in participating in this action, but the action was consistent with the content agreements that had led, a few months earlier, to the drafting of the manifesto and was therefore carried out.

After that initiative, the campaign had no other important moments. The actions that continued to be undertaken were: a) political lobbying work through the informal channels of the associations involved, carried out in the manner that was typical of the Asylum and Immigration Table; b) information work through the Facebook page, which had a low impact and was mostly limited to sharing posts by organisations, NGOs and the media on the main themes of *Io Accolgo*.

The more ambitious projects were partly blocked by the pandemic situation, and partly died out due to the radical change in the political framework that had initiated the campaign.

‘The idea was to start building actions with working groups. We had already distributed the tasks: one theme was the European pact on migration, one on housing, one on social rights, another on schools (...). We wanted to involve people on specific projects, also very practical ones.’ (IT_I_IA5)

Since December 2020, the far-reaching revision of the security decrees had deprived the campaign of its most important target, while the absence of a common enemy in a position of power had taken away the strongest motive for common action.

‘When the change of government majority occurred, it was more difficult to maintain a cohesive focus on shared goals. While the goal of cancelling the decrees was clear, the rest had to be built.’ (IT_I_IA2)

What can be read between the lines of this quote is also the difference between the production of counter-narratives, in a reactive form, and the creation of new and alternative narratives.

4.5 Narratives

Beginning with the manifesto, the *Io Accolgo* campaign develops several narratives, which we can distinguish in four groups or clusters.

The first set of narratives focuses on the values shared by progressives and criticises right-wing policies. They are in fact two sides of the same coin and tend to reproduce the dichotomies us/them, good/bad, solidary/egoist, humane/inhumane. This juxtaposition sometimes resonates as a clash, as can be seen in the following narrative taken from the website: 'Italy is full of people who believe in ideals of solidarity and welcome; the right-wing political narrative of hate and fear won't win.' It becomes difficult to distinguish within this sentence between the propaganda of right-wing parties and the motives of their voters.

The second set of narratives seeks to draw a community (we, the Italians) and has in itself an intent to debunk the propaganda promises of right-wing parties. This can also be seen in the manifesto, especially in this passage: 'Exclusion and discrimination of migrants don't give Italians a more secure society, but indeed they threaten democracy and social cohesion, by producing new social marginality.'

A third set of narratives shifts the focus from migration to other issues and actually argues that the problems of Italians do not depend on migration. The manifesto reads as follows: 'To counteract the conditions of poverty and hardship in Italian society, we need effective and inclusive policies for work, housing, health, climate and environmental security, and education capable of promoting well-being and equal opportunities for all those who live in this country.'

The fourth set focuses instead on the benefits of immigration: 'Foreign citizens living and working in Italy are an asset for this country, economically, socially and culturally.'

Then there is an apparatus of demands, which does not produce general narratives and which can be found in both the manifesto and the appeal. It is the space in which the issues concerning the campaign are determined.

'Some among us were very attentive to what was happening at the borders. It was the context of the so-called 'closed ports'. On the other hand, many others were more attentive to the issue of the reception system and its characteristics. The trade unions were obviously more sensitive to the issue of labour rights; others were more attentive to the issue of the citizenship law. These different sensitivities have found a synthesis in the manifesto.' (IT_I_IA2)

On the campaign's social media we actually find coverage of these issues, with a prevalence for the theme of sea rescues and that of good reception. However, on the Facebook page, the main narratives rather insist on two aspects: celebrating the humanitarian community and the reception of migrants (from the sea rescues practised by NGO ships, to cases of good reception), and condemning restrictive policies and the violence of those who practise them. In short, the prevailing social communication recreates the dichotomy between a good and a bad world, trying less to create narratives that unite (the second set) or that shift the focus from migration to policies that would really improve the lives of people living in Italy (the third set). Such manichean framing confirms the difficulty this campaign had in addressing undecided people, as several interviewees remarked.

However, the prevalence of the self-celebratory narrative prompts reflection. It insists on showing the success of the flash mob and the emulation initiatives produced by the new adherents to the campaign. It is the narrative of a triumphal march, produced mainly in the very first months until the fall of the government. It aims to trigger enthusiasm for

participation. It is not a narrative of anger and protest, but it produces and wants to produce feelings of enthusiasm and pride in manifesting values of solidarity. This point seems key.

It was a political context in which the criminalisation of solidarity and attacks on social media in the form of shitstorms sought to publicly humiliate anyone who spoke out against restrictive and border-defence policies by gaining media visibility (see the Sea Watch case in Maneri et al., 2022). The propaganda machine created by Matteo Salvini – proudly labelled as ‘The Beast’ by its own promoters – was very active on social networks and tended to intimidate and threaten. The seizures of humanitarian ships and the trials of NGOs amplified this climate. It therefore seems interesting that the *Io Accolgo* Campaign favoured narratives that did not focus on anger, but privileged the proud and enthusiastic defence of shared values.

This narrative choice is also reflected in the choice of the campaign's name.

‘Io Accolgo (I welcome) was a simple message, in the context of a public debate that went in the direction of rejection. The use of the subjectivity of the first person also went in the direction of wanting to give individual responsibility to our interlocutors: a direct assumption of responsibility on our part but also direct to our interlocutors...’ (IT_I_IA2)

‘The name is very explicit and understandable. We are and were in a phase where the opposite of reception was very popular, and so to take the side of reception explicitly was to create a bloc. It must also be said that it is not an aggressive slogan, it is not polemical, it is positive and not negative, it is not against but pro.’ (IT_I_IA1)

Other interviewees said that there were members of the network that disliked the name, because it conveyed the idea that reception was a matter of individual goodwill and not of political and collective choices and actions. Another criticism that emerges from two interviews is that it is a name that speaks only to progressives.

In conclusion, the narratives of the *Io Accolgo* campaign show the absence of a precise strategic-narrative line capable of resolving the contradictions that various interviewees underline. This is the inevitable result of having attempted a synthesis between people and organisations with different sensitivities and visions, obtaining, instead of a synthesis, the coexistence of elements that, from a strategic point of view, may be contradictory and ineffective.

4.6 Innovativeness and success

The three aspects on which interviewees show broad agreement in defining innovativeness and success of the campaign are a) the breadth of the network, b) the visibility achieved in the mainstream media in the early stages of the campaign, and c) the clarity of the initial message. The three aspects are closely interlinked. The clarity of the main message against the security decrees and against the arrogance and communicative violence shown by the rightist camp and especially by Lega’s leader Matteo Salvini ensured the adhesions to the initiative and the two aspects - in a context of great media attention to Salvini’s actions and social communication - gave the campaign great journalistic visibility.

'The specificity of this initiative was its breadth. The feeling of bringing us all together, despite the different approaches. The result of agreeing on essential content and strategies was great and not obvious, because normally these organisations have different goals and ideas.' (IT_I_IA3)

'For the first time in Italy a campaign was born that brought together so many different organisations: from trade unions... Just think: the relationship of trade unions with civil society has never had a space where everyone was on an equal footing. Perhaps this only happened in 2000 with the Genoa Social Forum... *Io Accolgo* brought together secular and Christian organisations, trade unions and economic-financial realities (such as the Banca Etica).' (IT_I_IA5)

'The general level of launching a solidaristic and welcoming counter-message worked, not least because it was very much connected to an effective liaison with the mainstream media.' (IT_I_IA2)

'*Io Accolgo*'s communication had strength and important success in the traditional media because at that moment all the journalists were talking about the Salvini decrees. So that such a large group of associations, with very large organisations inside, spoke with one voice made us authoritative.' (IT_I_IA4)

There is also partial agreement that the campaign facilitated the political process of amending the security decrees that ended in December 2020. The campaign made a social protest visible and gave more strength to the arguments that the Asylum and Immigration Table then pursued in its political advisory role.

'I must say that what the campaign built was one of the elements that then helped on a political level, with the change of government majority, to produce changes. Some elements of the campaign became political culture. Even the more moderate parties took on some elements that the *Io Accolgo* campaign had brought forward: on the reception system, on the issue of residence for migrants, on health care (...). This idea of the network, of being a broad body, helped the diffusion of ideas and the pressure on parliament and the political side.' (IT_I_IA5)

This was certainly not the first national campaign to bring together different organisations with the specific aim of changing a law concerning migrants or migrants' children, or to propose a new one. Similar campaigns are still active in Italy (e.g., *Ero Straniero* and *L'Italia sono anch'io*). One could even say that this is a general trend: that of creating broad civil society fronts to put pressure on progressive political forces. However, the two campaigns mentioned maintain important differences to *Io Accolgo*, as the interviewees point out:

'*L'Italia sono anch'io* and *Ero Straniero* are very different from *Io Accolgo*, because they were born to support a popular initiative law. Then there are the members of the Radical party who coordinate the *Ero Straniero* campaign, so there are political subjects, some parliamentarians... And then let's say that the *Ero Straniero* campaign was more limited and some elements of the Catholic world were missing, because for example Caritas was not in the promoting committee.' (IT_I_IA1)

In addition to being smaller in scope and less able to bring together secular and Catholic associations, these campaigns are also more politically driven, thus differing in terms of the positionality of the participants. Perhaps the campaign most similar to *Io Accolgo* in terms of

positionality and breadth of network was the *Non aver paura* (Don't be afraid) campaign, launched on 18 March 2009. It is probably no coincidence that even that time, what favoured a grassroots and widespread campaign was the presence of a common enemy in a position of decision-making power. In fact, even in that case, a member of the League (at that time Northern League) was Minister of the Interior and had initiated very harsh and explicit policies of exclusion of migrants (the security decree promoted by Roberto Maroni had been approved in 2008). However, that campaign expressed a cultural need and an anti-racist will, without pursuing specific demands for legislative change, as the *Io Accolgo* campaign did.

While these are therefore the most successful and innovative elements of the *Io Accolgo* campaign, in other respects there is a general admission of failure with regard to the initial ambitions. This admission is expressed in the interviews in the form of frustration or disappointment on the part of some network members. To understand this disappointment, we must go back to what has already been written, namely, the different initial objectives of the initiative, one more political and short-term, aimed at opposing the security decrees, the other more cultural and informative, aimed at having an impact on public opinion and giving a voice to local and migrant associations. While the first aspect has had some success, the second has been a very partial success for some, a clear failure for others. There are several explanations for this failure. First of all, not all the most important actors in the campaign shared the same vision: the desire to question the cultural system that leads to forms of exclusion of migrants was not a shared intention. As one interviewee put it, it is perhaps not even a goal that can be pursued through a communication campaign, however large it may be:

'It is illusory to think that one can counter a phenomenon like this with communication initiatives or by promoting online counter-narrative campaigns. It is a structural phenomenon that cannot be tackled in this way.' (IT_I_IA2)

Moreover, *Io Accolgo* was born first and foremost as a reaction. The main reaction, considering how the network came into being and who the first participants were (all of whom were involved in the Asylum and Immigration Table in their role as managers of the reception of asylum seekers and refugees), was a practical one: reacting to a decree that threatened and downsized the reception system. The reaction to the cultural climate acted in parallel, but it was not the primary motive behind the campaign. This partly explains the limited involvement of the migrants themselves: the protest arose from members of the establishment.

There are also several explanations for the failure (or only partial success) to activate a bottom-up flow in the dynamic between the national management of the campaign and the desire to actively involve local associations. If we set aside the exogenous explanations (the pandemic and the sudden change of government), the endogenous explanations given by the participants insist on a communicative and an organisational aspect.

'Each subject tended to promote its own initiatives and projects, but without doing so as *Io Accolgo*. There was a difficulty in having objectives that were as precise as the first one. There was a lack of understanding of what the campaign could give in addition to what was already there through the networks of organisations that were part of it.' (IT_I_IA2)

'There has been little success in giving local committees a voice. Local work was disconnected from national work. On the one hand, the local committees did not understand what we were doing at the national level, and on the other hand, we blamed them for not informing us of the initiatives.' (IT_I_IA4)

'If there had been a real commitment to using the channels and communication tools of the forty associations that were part of the network, we would have had enormous firepower. On this we paid for a problem inherent in campaigns where there are so many different organisations. The internal logics of the various organisations make other choices prevail over the contents of a common campaign. So there was a lack of investment in communication.' (IT_I_IA3)

In addition to these issues, another emerges from two interviews and it appears particularly significant. We refer to the lack of independence of Italian civil society from political affiliations. As has emerged several times in this analysis, the presence of a common political enemy seems to have been crucial in temporarily putting aside divisions and uniting in the initiative. At the same time, with the change of government, several associations in the network began to show caution and hesitation, and differences in visions and interests became central again, causing the campaign to lose strength. The analysis of the *Io Accolgo* campaign then opens up a question about the degree of autonomy of a relevant part of Italian civil society, about its ability to frame a critique and carry on a fight for inclusion that is independent of the variable of which parties are in government. As one of the interviewees put it:

'The transmission belt between politics and civil society organisations in Italy can still be felt. This means that in the absence of the political enemy, one tends to be quieter. Depending on the political orientation of the government, the autonomy of associations is somewhat diminished.' (IT_I_IA5)

Today, the *Io Accolgo* initiative seems to be over, but it has left participants with the conviction that an extended and transversal network of actors is fundamental to making civil society's voice heard on the issues of migrants' reception and their inclusion in society. At the same time, however, the interviewees' comments reveal a fundamental distinction between the recognition of a practical use related to the interests of the associations that are part of the Asylum and Immigration Table and its transformation into a cultural platform that seeks to involve migrants themselves more closely and to actively combat the systemic racism and discrimination that are at the root of exclusionary policies. While the former are optimistic that *Io Accolgo* can return as active and lively as in its first months of operation, the latter hold out little hope that *Io Accolgo* can really serve these purposes. In fact, if we look at the narratives that the campaign has produced, we see that even those less developed in practice, but present in the documents, are mostly addressed to the natives and aim to explain why immigration itself or its good management does not bring problems, but can instead be a resource for Italy and Italians. An attempt to question the cultural assumptions that produce inequalities (an intersectional cultural critique), however, was never considered by the protagonists of the initiative. Even the critique of racism only targeted right-wing political communication and the reporting of conservative newspapers.

Dependence on potential allies – progressive political parties and newspapers – perhaps does not realistically allow criticism to be pushed beyond a certain threshold and condemns criticism itself to a form of ideology that needs the unambiguously recognised figure of the

enemy to compact the heterogeneous progressive front around common interests. It is therefore difficult to imagine that campaigns of this kind can have a major impact on public opinion and the widespread culture that produces the terrain of discrimination, which is also found in the speeches and policies of democratic leaders and in the words and images used daily by the progressive media. Therefore, uniting around an enemy, widening the network as much as possible, gaining media visibility and using this visibility to put pressure on the Democratic Party and its allies is what such campaigns can realistically do if they want to achieve practical results. This was the goal of campaigns such as *L'Italia sono anch'io* and *Ero Straniero*, and this was also the goal of *Io Accolgo*. Those who look pragmatically at the campaign from this point of view recognise its usefulness and partial success. Pragmatic alliances on common political battles with migrant movements or migrant children's movements, however limited in scope, are also possible in this sense and have been undertaken in *Io Accolgo*.

Finally, it is useful to use some conceptual tools developed in the Bridges project. Drawing on the analytical concept of 'migration narrative success' (Garcés-Mascareñas and Pastore 2022), we can observe the achievement of a good level diffusion in the media, even if its limited presence on social media and poor ability to penetrate media environments where youth audiences are more active, constitutes a limitation to the pervasiveness of the campaign. With respect to the transformativity of the campaign's narrative (i.e., its ability to shape attitudes or behaviours at the individual or collective level), it is more difficult to assess its actual success. It is likely, however, that the campaign helped both to aggregate progressive public opinion and to push some political actors to acknowledge the urgency to reform the security decrees, once the government changed.

5. Dalla parte giusta della storia (“On the right side of history”)

5.1 Context and timeframes

The *DPGS* (“On the Right Side of History”) campaign was founded in July 2020, after a long hostile political environment. This period was defined as 'traumatic' by several activists of the campaign, due to the disappointment for the failure of the reform of the Italian citizenship law (in 2017, with strong responsibilities of centre-left parties), to the rise of right-wing parties and the institutionalisation of racist discourses (2018-2019, when the leader of the Lega Matteo Salvini was Minister of the Interior) and, last but not least, to the multiplication of racial violence in Italy.¹

The *Rete per la Riforma della Cittadinanza* (“Network for Citizenship Reform”) was the promoter of the campaign. In this wide network, the leading role of children of migrants was central and there was a new collaboration between racialised activists in their late thirties and forties with a younger generation of antiracist activists.

¹ See in this regard the “Fifth white paper on racism”, available at www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org edited by Lunaria.

Indeed, the campaign and the network were nurtured by the previous activism and experiences of the *Rete G2* (“2G Network”) and of the movement *Italiani senza cittadinanza* (“Italians without citizenship”). When we mapped the Italian initiatives on the sub-genre regarding “citizenship, regularisation and integration”, we included all the three initiatives on the reform of Italian citizenship led by children of migrants, but we decided to focus on the most recent one, *DPGS* campaign, because - as shown below - it is the most innovative and successful regarding narratives.

Various activist groups and networks tried repeatedly to change the Italian citizenship law over the last twenty years.

Italian citizenship law No. 91/1992 is one of the most restrictive in Europe and it has left unrecognized about one million children of immigrants who were born or raised in Italy. Currently, the children of immigrants in Italy compose approximately 15 percent of new births in Italy, or 10 percent of the country’s total youth population.

Italy never ratified the 1997 European Convention on Nationality that should facilitate the acquisition of citizenship for all people born in the country. Children born in Italy to immigrants have a longer wait than immigrants themselves before they are eligible for citizenship in Italy: eighteen years, versus the ten years of legal residency required for immigrants to naturalize. In fact, the children of immigrants automatically inherit the nationality of their parents at birth. On reaching the age of majority, they have a one-year window during which they can apply for Italian citizenship. To apply for naturalization, applicants must provide proof of uninterrupted residency in Italy, among other application requirements. Even for those who have lived in Italy from birth, proving continuous residence is not easy, because their parents did not always register their births with the local civil registry. This is the case of many children of Eritrean immigrants who arrived in Italy in the 1970s and took up residence in squatted homes due to housing shortages. Moreover, the Italian naturalization process still has no guarantees, it seems an interminable bureaucratic limbo: the processing time for naturalization requests varies across the cities and regions of Italy. It is formally considered a concession and not a right even for those who meet all the legal requirements.

Involved in the recent *DPGS* campaign are people who have been part of pioneering association experiences among the children of immigrants in Italy. One of these is undoubtedly Sumaya Abdel Qader, whom we interviewed also to reconstruct how in the early 2000s it was very difficult to publicly address the issue of citizenship, especially for young people of the Muslim faith in times of rising islamophobia after 9/11/2001.

‘I think as *Giovani Musulmani d’Italia* (“Young Muslims of Italy”) we were among the very first associations of children of immigrants who were activists on the issue of citizenship, but we were never recognised because they were all focused on the religious side (...). We addressed the issue of citizenship on several levels. First of all, from a cultural point of view. From the very first meetings, we talked about young Italians and Muslims. So, a different horizon of Italianness was already recognised 20 or more years ago (...). Many of us were starting to imagine ourselves as lawyers, doctors, politicians and without citizenship...if you don’t have citizenship you can’t register for many public notices, for professional orders (...). The issue of citizenship is linked to that of political rights. Even then there was a desire to actively participate in politics, we did it even without Italian citizenship... but then, if you want to get

elected, how do you do it? (...). It was a battle to have full civil and political rights (...). Many of us were becoming 18, we were starting to apply for citizenship. We started asking ourselves questions: why waiting until 18? We asked ourselves these questions, which we later crossed with others, see when ReteG2 was born in 2005. (...). Today we have seen a change.' (IT_I_PGS7)

In the next section, we will reconstruct the different actors involved in the campaign *DPGS*, tracing a chronological background of activism for Italian citizenship reform. This seems indispensable, because some of the campaign activists were previously part of the *G2 Network* and many activists continue to be part of the movement of *Italians without citizenship* within the new *Network for Citizenship Reform*.

5.2 Main actors and networks of the initiative

Rete G2 (2G Network), a national advocacy organization, has mobilized for over a decade to reform Italy's citizenship law and make it easier for the Italian-born children of immigrants to become Italian citizens. The organisation has also been involved in a series of national media campaigns that are intended to challenge the dominant representation of Italy as a white and Catholic country. However, the most important initiative arrived in 2011, when Rete G2 launched the *L'Italia Sono Anch'io* ("I am Italy too") campaign along with a coalition of no-profit partners and national labour unions. The campaign was an unprecedented success, ultimately collecting the signatures of two hundred thousand Italian citizens. The original proposal from the *L'Italia Sono Anch'io* campaign included automatic citizenship for any child born to an immigrant who had been legally resident in Italy for at least one year, as well as a simplified path to citizenship for those who arrived in Italy as children or who were born in Italy to parents without a residency permit. The proposal also called for a reduction in the time required for naturalization for adult immigrants, from ten to five years. A second proposal developed for the *L'Italia Sono Anch'io* campaign would have also granted foreigners legally resident in Italy for at least five years the right to vote in local and regional elections.

L'Italia Sono Anch'io's proposals were delivered to the Italian legislature in 2012. Finally, in 2015, the Chamber of Deputies (the lower house of the Italian parliament) approved a citizenship reform bill that incorporated elements of the popular initiative proposal. The bill remained stalled in the Italian Senate, despite Rete G2 lobbying meetings with legislators.

The movement *Italiani senza cittadinanza* ("Italians without citizenship") was born in 2016 precisely out of the need to get the reform finally passed, trying to challenge hegemonic representations on the children of immigration. As Paula Baudet Vivanco points out, the role played by the mainstream media was crucial in leading Italian society towards a reactionary political climate that not only did not allow the reform to be approved in 2017, but also made possible the victory of right-wing parties in 2018.

'The images and words used were absolutely misleading. We found ourselves with texts that talked about the children of immigration and citizenship next to images of black men and the stereotypical representation of the immigrant in the reception centre (...). At the time when the reform was to be decided in June 2017, the worst was reached, they created a total misconception, even in those who had been in favour of us, paradoxical messages were being passed. Article about the reform next to photo of a boat landing with pregnant black woman. Will it be an accident, a

naivety? In fact, they ended up megaphoning unfiltered the racist discourse of Salvini's League, that of the phantom 'ethnic substitution' (...). Meanwhile, the right-wing political forces inside and outside parliament raised the clash against 'ius soli'. Their strategy seems to have worked with the media (mainstream) uncritically re-launching them and with their unscrupulous use of social media (...). What then to say about the polls? They went from 70% in favour of the reform to 40% in the space of a few weeks. How come? It was enough to read the way the questions in the polls were formulated to understand that they were misleading (...). We children of immigrants, self-organised, with few means and resources, found ourselves up against giants, an unequal media fight (...). This situation led us to the victory of the right-wingers in 2018 and to the Salvini decrees that even further aggravated our condition, e.g. by further lengthening the time for applying for citizenship.' (IT_I_PGS2)

The Network for citizenship reform was born in 2020 and today includes Italians Without Citizenship movement, important associations and cultural initiatives of children of migrants from different Italian cities such as QuestaèRoma (Roma), Arising Africans (Padova), Festival Divercity (Milano), Afroveronesi (Verona), BlackLivesMatter-Bologna, collectives such as the Turin-based Ujamaa and many individual activists (among them: Susanna Owusu, Anthony Chima, Kaaj Tshikalandand); finally, it involves important realities active in the Italian civil society, such as the SaltaMuri Network and ActionAid. Action Aid put a budget in the annual budget specifically for the citizenship reform and this was important to maintain a continuity in communication activities, because all the activists are volunteers.

As we have just underlined, children of migrants have played a leading role within the Network, and the campaign was born after a long process of collective reflexivity by those directly affected by the Italian citizenship law, who have questioned themselves and worked hard on the side of communication strategies.

'DPGS stems from a collective reflection by people and organisations that have tried to contribute to the approval of a reform over the years (...). We want to get together and think about what has been done, what went well and what did not? To work out a new strategy, taking much better care of communication. Remaining aware that it is central to always put people without citizenship first.' (IT_I_PGS1)

The DPGS campaign was the effort to react (once again) to the hostile political environment and to counter both institutional racism both the racism spread by mainstream media. The battle for the reform of Italian citizenship has become something broader, that is to say a political and cultural struggle to challenge inequalities, discrimination and structural racism.

'The campaign is strongly carried by those directly concerned and tries to avoid telling the problematic story of an individual, unlike other campaigns. We think the problem is structural, it has to be placed at the level of society (...) We try to make people understand how much this law that we can define as institutional racism hurts. We are looking for a broad narrative, something that helps to imagine a new society.' (IT_I_PGS5)

As we will see in Section 5.5, imagining a new society means searching for an alternative narrative, which can stop the othering processes of children of migrants and make feel involved potentially all the Italian society.

In the next section, we will show that with the DPGS campaign, non-hegemonic actors (children of migrants in Italy) mobilised and coordinated heterogeneous groups of activists with the goals to reform Italian citizenship law and to transform Italian society.

5.3 Objectives

The overarching objective of the campaign DPGS is the same of the previous initiatives led by other groups and networks of migrants' descendants: reforming the Italian citizenship Law 91/1992, because "there are more than one million people waiting for citizenship in Italy", "the Law n. 91/1992 is outdated and incapable of interpreting today's Italy" and "today, Italian citizenship is not a right but an arbitrary concession". However, to achieve this goal the focus shifted markedly towards Italian civil society, working much more on communication. The basic idea is that to change the law it is not enough to work as a political lobby and put pressure on parliamentarians, but it is necessary to change the media narratives that heavily influence society, in order to create broad societal coalitions against institutional discrimination. To achieve this goal, the Network for Citizenship Reform has organised itself into working groups. From interviews with activists such as Kwanza Musi Dos Santos and Anthony Chima, we were able to understand the way of proceeding and the sub-objectives of these working groups (outlining general principles for reform; defining the type of support to be requested from non-profit organisations; choosing the most effective terminology and communication strategy; challenging institutional discrimination).

'We set up working groups, held regular meetings. We started with the idea of drawing up a common document in which we summarised the current situation, the different proposals that were presented and parked in the committee. And on the other hand to outline general principles to be passed (...). For example, a fundamental principle for us is the reduction of the time taken to apply for citizenship (and residence permits). (...). We also thought of a transitional provision: given that the times of the Italian bureaucracy are infinite and there is no way to appeal directly against the public administration without a legal official procedure if it does not follow the times set by law (...), the transitional provision would ensure that if the administration does not respect the times set by law, the application is automatically accepted.' (IT_I_PGS1)

One of the novelties of the campaign is that of explicitly naming institutional racism and linking it to the issue of citizenship reform. It is no coincidence that the activists took part in the local (2020) demonstrations of the global mobilisations of the Black lives matter movement and are now part of the new national anti-racist coordination (created in the summer of 2022 following the murder of Alike Ogorchukwu in Civitanova Marche).

'With the campaign we want to make clear how systemic the effect of a failed reform is in terms of discrimination (...). Talking about racism and discrimination within the issue of citizenship is crucial. Angelica Pesarini showed how the roots of citizenship law are racist and fascist, historically discriminatory. Therefore, to tackle racism, it must be tackled at a political level.' (IT_I_PGS6)

Besides Pesarini e Tentori (2020), Hawthorne (2022, p. 3) showed very clearly why and 'how so many Black Italians have adopted national citizenship as a privileged terrain of struggle over racial justice, inclusion and belonging in Italy.'

A shared objective of the DPGS campaign is to use strategically public communication to reform the law and to fight racism. In many ways the activists of the Network for Citizenship Reform tried to avoid political and media polarisation, working seriously on the appropriate use of words and learning how to improve communication by training with experts.

‘We made an important reflection on terminology. (...) So just use 'citizenship reform', clear and general. These ius created factions. Pro ius soli and pro ius culturae. It makes no sense to pose them as alternatives: they concern specific cases, each has its own relevance to the legislative process (...). We thought about communication by turning to experts. We did workshops with some communication agencies. To be more competent. So to reflect on what is the most strategic way to say what we want to say, what is our target audience, what social media to use, etc. etc. (...). We arrived at the concept of 'historical turning points' and from there the campaign concept was born.’ (IT_I_PGS1)

We will return to the concept of 'historical turning points' when focusing on narratives in section 5.5. In the next section, however, we will focus on how the main actions of the campaign sought to challenge the dominant representation of a white nation.

5.4 Main actions and public representation

The long struggle to reform Italian citizenship has involved a recurring challenge to the dominant representation of white and Catholic Italianness.

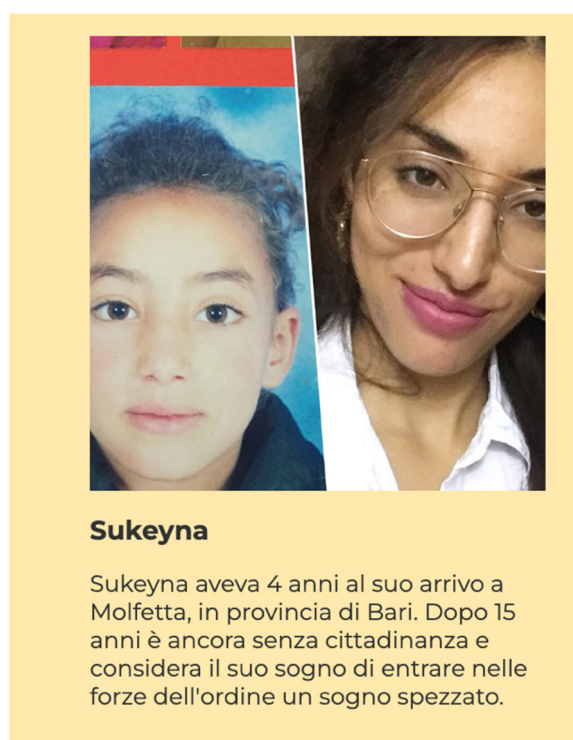
The G2 Network, which was mainly active at the political-institutional level, has also tried in various ways to challenge this dominant representation. For example, in 2012 it released a CD titled *Straniero a chi?* (“Foreigner According to Whom?”), which featured a collection of original tracks by a group of rappers and reggae artists inspired by the Black diaspora to support the cultural change towards a new representation of Italian society, where young Italians have multiple belongings and transnational family ties.

Along these same lines, *Italiani senza Cittadinanza* sought to legitimise the children of migrants as being also “children of Italy” in multiple ways. The effort was always aimed to persuade the civil society that there are Italians not recognized who are waiting for citizenship and that the law 91/1992 had to be changed. Among the most recent initiatives of this movement, which is now part of the Network for Citizenship Reform and works within the DPGS campaign, there are those reported by Paula Baudet Vivanco in our interview.

‘Take for example the photo-stories of *Obiettivo Cittadinanza*² (“Citizenship goal”) it tells our stories with our photographs, juxtaposing a photo of when we were children with a photo of today, to show the immense span of time in which we have lived without Italian citizenship (...). It is part of our journey to change the imaginary and to decide how we want to be represented, choosing the images that represent us and make us understand the time span of hallucinating waiting for rights (...). With these photostories it is above all other young Italians who can identify with us, understanding that the law must be changed.’ (IT_I_PGS2)

² <https://www.obiettivocittadinanza.it/> and <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=329211705940046>

PICTURE 1: An example of a photo-story from the action Obiettivo Cittadinanza



Source: <https://dallapartegiustadellastoria.it/>

The DPGS campaign placed a lot of emphasis on digital communication, using different social media (from Facebook to Instagram to TikTok), to reach different audiences.

‘Given the pandemic period, we thought of a campaign that was first of all digital and also visual. We used different channels: Instagram; Twitter, Facebook, Telegram, TikTok... differentiating the content according to the channels. On Instagram, for example, we used carousel posts (which have multiple slides, up to 10) to give a news summary, provide information to deepen the topics of our posts: what the law provides for, what are the novelties introduced by the text under discussion, to make comparisons with legislation in other European countries. On Instagram we also use Reel, vertical videos of max 1 min to comment on issues, to arouse curiosity, to invite participation in the campaign. Youtube is used by us as a support platform for our showcase site videos (which is the first contact channel for journalists and institutions). Facebook on the other hand is for support with 'boomers'. This is where content such as those related to institutional meetings go, for example with members of the Constitutional Affairs Committee, then we also put some carousel posts. However, it is not our strongest channel.’ (IT_I_PGS3)

The DPGS campaign sought to reach a very young target audience through the use of TikTok and the romantic #dimmidisi communication action that accompanied several flash mobs.

‘TikTok is for the very young, we are using it for example in view of the 28 June mobilisation where we will do the flash mob with the marriage proposal to Italy (...). On TikTok we are also using 'love actually' style videos, with placards to ask Italy to recognise the years of love relationship that there have already been between us and

to recognise people born or raised as if it were a marriage with Italy. Also because today marriage remains the only certain channel to obtain citizenship! We have also launched a challenge: "Marry me!", based on a South Korean challenge.' (IT_I_PGS3)

PICTURE 2: A Still frame from the video of the communicative action #dimmidisi³



Source: <https://dallapartegiustadellastoria.it/>

Several activists interviewed pointed out that romantic and “pop” communicative actions also resonated with mainstream journalists and politicians, relaunching them on Twitter where went viral very quickly. However, the relationship with the mainstream media is cultivated over time by the Network for Citizenship Reform through a pool of journalists ‘fidelised’, a term used by an interviewee for those journalists who consistently follow them and relay their messages.

‘We use Twitter to directly call politicians and those involved in the legislative process. We use it to talk to politicians but also to journalists... with them it is the most immediate channel. The highlight of our Twitter campaign was in February 2022 when we organised a series of digital and offline events to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the 91/1992 law and it was on that occasion that we made the engagement video. 14/2/22 because it evokes Valentine's Day, complete with roses, heart-shaped balloons, violins, in short, a romantic scenario with a marriage proposal. The video immediately went viral on Twitter that same day...over 600,000 people saw it if I'm not mistaken, and within a few days it was picked up by major newspapers. Over time, with our various campaigns, we have developed our own pool of

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pcA4TyfZXbE&t=1s>

journalists to whom we turn. The ones who relaunch us most often are La Repubblica, Redattore Sociale, Il Fatto Quotidiano, Vanity Fair, Avvenire.’ (IT_I_PGS3)

‘When we did the romantic flash mob on 14 February, the news went to ANSA.it, La Repubblica, the best-known newspapers. Also, because we take great care in our relationship with journalists, so when there are moments of mobilisation, they take us on.’ (IT_I_PGS5)

Alongside more ‘pop’ communication actions, the DPGS campaign also uses more ‘classic’ initiatives, such as signature collection and open letters.

‘We also did a more classic initiative: an open letter to parliamentarians, in which we say for the umpteenth time we have been ready all our lives for a change in this law, will you get a move on? Are you finally ready too?’ (laughs). It is always the political class that drags its feet, that procrastinates (...). We have also brought illustrious signatures to support it, relying on a magazine such as Confronti (an ecumenical publication), which is highly respected even by older people, the ones we would like to reach because it reflects an important target group represented in parliament (...). If among the signatories we have authoritative people of a certain age, others who are ahead of their time can also identify with us and take our side because other people like them say so.’ (IT_I_PGS2)

From the interviews with the members of the communication working group for Network of the Italian Citizenship Reform it emerged also the importance of create attractive events in urban spaces and to be always careful to keep mainstream media’s attention, which is usually driven by what leading government politicians say and do.

‘The media only approach the subject of reform when something ‘epic ((with facial expression and tone of voice shows humour in the use of the term, Ed.)) happens. Is there any statement by a politician who decides to talk about reform? Then it’s off to the media to chase after stories of young people without citizenship.’ (IT_I_PGS5)

‘Arousing curiosity is important, for the media and beyond. We used yellow t-shirts to communicate joy and power and a colourful hot air balloon to communicate that we want to fly high and to look far away. We managed to place the hot air balloon in front of Montecitorio (in front of the Parliament) where we talked to a lot of people in 8 hours to introduce the birth of the campaign and to make the parliamentarians uncomfortable because they had to cross us and could not ignore the hot air balloon.’ (IT_I_PGS6)

PICTURE 3: Shot from the flash mob in front of Parliament, present on the campaign website



Source: <https://dallapartegiustadellastoria.it/>

The coloured T-shirts are part of the gadgets sold by the Network to finance the On the right of history campaign⁴ and to make it more visible in contexts of everyday life. As Anthony Chima (of the campaign's engagement working group) told us in his interview, it is very important to bring the campaign into the most diverse venues where it is possible to talk about the need to change the law and fight discrimination. This is what he called soft campaign initiatives.

'For me it is also important to do a soft campaign! Something less predictable, not just going to the streets to demonstrate, being on social media, but going to schools, even to places of worship, to associations, to social centres. Even to enterprises. Because the absence of reform creates inequalities everywhere.' (IT_I_PGS6)

The need to be visible and present 'everywhere' (according to the interviewee) reflects the campaign's ambition to address the whole of Italian society and transform it in the long term. As we will see in the next section, to do this the campaign created new alternative narratives.

5.5 Narratives

A key feature of the DPGS campaign is that it sought an alternative frame to address the issue of Italian citizenship reform. Perhaps the most difficult challenge has been to overcome the processes of othering in place, which make the children of migrants, always "migrants" regardless of whether they have never made a migration and were born in Italy. Being constructed as a "migrant" means being positioned and treated by public institutions, the media and members of society as the Other; since the identity of "migrant" seems to flatten out all the aspects of one's life. The processes of "migrantification" (Forkert, Oliveri, Bhattacharyya and Graham 2020, 142) reveals how bordering works through generations. As reflexive scholars in migration studies, we need to keep a careful attention to those

⁴ <https://dallapartegiustadellastoria.it/store/#!/all>

processes and contribute to a critical denaturalisation of those categories which end up being stigmatizing (Amelina 2021).

Beginning with the slogan of the campaign, being on the right side of history means moving away from emergency narratives on migrations and place the need to reform Italian citizenship within a long history of civic battles of Italian society. Straying from the us-them opposition allows to arouse empathy and interest more easily, because the story of the battle for reforming citizenship ceases to be an issue only for migrants and their descendants. DPGS campaign aims to make feel involved all the Italian society, because the story of the reform becomes part of “our history”, which is to say the history of the Italian civil society which struggles for extending rights to wider sections of the population.

We can distinguish three main narratives of the DPGS campaign. Before analysing them by putting them in dialogue with the voices of the interviewees, we can summarize them as follows:

There are moments that change the history of a country and the lives of millions of people. Think of the vote for women (1946), the divorce law (1970), law 194 for the social protection of motherhood and the right to abortion (1978) and the approval of civil unions (2016). These are civil battles that have divided opinion in order to win rights that today seem inalienable. The time has come again to "change history" (using an expression that recurs in the campaign), recognising the right to citizenship for those born or growing up in Italy. To make Italy a fairer place once again.

The reform is not a question of benevolence or meritocracy, but of recognition and justice. The reform must concern first of all those who are born and grow up in Italy (so called second generations), but it must also include those who live permanently in Italy (first generation of migrants), because faster procedures and certain criteria for everyone are necessary.

A different idea of citizenship for a different idea of society. Italian society has changed with migration; changing citizenship acknowledges this transformation. Creating alliances between citizens is necessary to fight together against discrimination and transform Italy in a fairer society for all.

The main narrative of the campaign DPGS is based on the general frame of the expansion of rights as a conflictual historical process. The choice to narrate the struggle for Italian citizenship within this frame was the result of a collective discussion which lasted several months.

‘Once again, Italy has the chance to make an epochal, just and necessary historical change. In the launch trailer⁵, we have reconstructed these turning points in order to be part of this process and get out of the perspective: we are giving immigrants something or pitting immigrants against Italians, but instead we tell how citizenship is a socio-historical issue.’ (IT_I_PGS1)

⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=75MNqNGsCVw&t=59s>

'In the preliminary phase of the campaign, we realised that in all historical phases in Italy when there was talk of extending rights to segments of the population, the language and public debate immediately became polarised, a game of strength between the parties with those who defined themselves as conservative defending Italy, a nation which seems at risk of self-destructing with every reform (...). So, the rights are those of the majority who perceive themselves as normal, or rather the rights of men, white and wealthy. On the other side there is an Italy that has always taken the side of rights, not because it was touched by that particular demand, that particular need... Fighting for women's rights were not just women, they were all the people who believed in women's rights, that they could self-determine, choose what to do with their own bodies (...). And so we say: as in all these historical phases that have determined the Italy that we all know today, in which we live, that we love... as we took sides in those battles, it is right today to take the side of citizenship rights.' (IT_I_PGS3)

In order to strategically involve an audience that is not restricted to those directly affected by the law (or, more generally, that part of Italian civil society that is already in favour of migration issues), the campaign activists have tried to identify a broad us, capable of mobilising together for different social battles. In the words of one of our interviewees, the need to adopt an intersectional perspective emerges against the light, because the children of immigrants are also women, workers, etc.

'It is an issue that cannot only concern those who do not have citizenship (...) also because people without citizenship cannot determine political choice, they do not have the right to vote. It is people who already have political rights who can unite and take the side of rights (...). We are not only people without citizenship, because for example we are also women, living in Italy where women's rights still need to be won, we are workers who struggle, we are people of different religious denominations who want freedom for all, so let us recognise and fight for rights together in all these areas. In this case, let us fight together for the right to citizenship.' (IT_I_PGS3)

The second narrative of the campaign DPGS is that the reform is not a question of benevolence or of meritocracy, but it is an issue of recognition, love and justice.

'When I think of initiatives that are considered progressive such as honorary citizenship, I think we are not there at all! These are outdated devices, things that may have been possible in the 1990s, but enough is enough, we don't want pats on the back, we want rights (...). And those children with the useless honorary citizenship are not a trophy to be displayed to show off, to feel ahead! (...). That is why in the campaign we say: treat us like adults! As a city councillor, I have seen that those who come for citizenship do so dressed as if for a wedding. it's serious! In short, let's change the narrative. We are adults to be recognised, there is a lasting relationship between us children of immigration and Italy, no more clandestine love! Italy say Yes! We love each other already, let us celebrate this union before the law, with all the rights to which we are entitled.' (IT_I_PGS4)

Activists of the Network for Citizenship Reform have expressed severe criticism towards the latest draft of the bill in which a meritocratic perspective strongly re-emerged and made the granting of citizenship conditional on the educational success of the children of immigrants, from primary school.

‘Children must be recognised anyway, even ugly and bad ones, you raised them, dear Italy! Citizenship cannot be a matter of school results! School results are linked to socio-economic disadvantages, to the precarious situations of immigrant families from working-class backgrounds. That would be a mixture of classism and racism!’ (IT_I_PGS2)

Anti-racist activist Selam Tesfai of the 'Per non dimenticare Abba' committee in Milan also reiterated in an interview the importance of the material dimension of citizenship and of the rights of the children of immigrants, which must be protected by detaching the granting of citizenship from residence and income.

‘The condition of the children has to be decoupled from that of the family, not in the sense that the child is good and the family is not, because that too creates incredible trauma, we have seen it in the US with forced repatriations and broken families. So, no. But surely the socio-economic condition of the family cannot become a ball and chain for sons and daughters. Schools and institutions must help overcome substantial obstacles to accessing rights. Residence and income are essential today in order to be able to obtain citizenship (...). Many of these children who risk not having citizenship are children from working-class neighbourhoods, they are children whose family situations are more complicated or whose parents have a harder time obtaining rights and opportunities. So, there is a very concrete and material dimension that in our opinion should be placed at the centre when talking about citizenship.’ (IT_I_PGS8)

Indeed, the second narrative choice of the DPGS campaign contributes to frame the need of the reform of Italian citizenship law as an issue of social justice.

‘We try to question the meritocratic idea (you make it if you are good, etc.) and we also say that the law creates social marginalisation... If you demand success at the end of a five-year cycle you are not recognising the other social factors (fuelled by the lack of this legal recognition) that lead some students into a vulnerable situation, these are the factors that do not allow them to complete all the years successfully, but only the individual is considered (...). It cannot be the school or the teacher who decides whether or not to give you citizenship (i.e., based on his or her sensitivity, he or she decides on your life?!). There would be even more arbitrariness than there already is in Law 91/1992. We reject that citizenship is an arbitrary concession (...). And we say that meritocracy is a trap: if you want, you can! This is not true. In the campaign we try to be single-issue and talk about citizenship. But many in the campaign are active to transform Italy and not pretend that we are all rich and happy white people.’ (IT_I_PGS3)

This collective desire to transform Italian society clearly can't limit itself to reform Italian citizenship law. Thus, the third and last narrative of the campaign claims that a different idea of citizenship is linked to a different idea of the Italian society, where citizens fight together against discrimination.

‘We try to use the theme of discrimination towards non-citizens to also talk on the side-lines about discrimination that occurs towards other groups. Saying this is related to the main concept of the campaign (...). We want a society that protects the rights of all, we start from citizenship, but to transform society together.’ (IT_I_PGS5)

The clarity of this message, which can be attractive and inspiring for diverse audiences, is one of the key aspects of its innovativeness and success, as we will see in the next section.

5.6 Innovativeness and success

According to the activists interviewed, the DPGS campaign is innovative first of all because it is led by non-hegemonic actors (children of migrants, subjects to processes of racialisation in Italy) who have united many activists and organisations of the Italian civil society across the whole country through the Network for Citizenship Reform and who have become recognized political actors.

'In the end we became politically recognised interlocutors: we were heard directly by those who had to make the new text of the reform; even on the 2018 security decree of Salvini, then Minister of the Interior, that also concerned citizenship, we were among the very few rapporteurs in the second hearing and we said directly what we didn't like about that security decree (although they didn't listen to us much then...). However, we managed to get recognition of the importance of the voice of self-organized direct stakeholders. Now they know that there are direct stakeholders who want to speak without intermediaries... And this is the fruit of a long political and communication work.' (IT_I_PGS2)

Through various communication initiatives, they have been able to create increasingly transversal alliances with actors of the Italian civil society. They have maintained their protagonism within large coalitions, continuing to self-organize, creating spaces for collective self-reflection. They have been able to work for awareness-raising, mobilization and advocacy with a strong focus on the communication dimension. Indeed, inside very unbalanced power relations, children of migrants from the Network for Citizenship Reform have been able to elaborate and circulate new narratives about Italian society and its transformations.

Drawing on the analytical concept of 'migration narrative success' (Garcés-Mascareñas and Pastore 2022), we can observe that the On the Right Side of History has been very pervasive, because the three narratives of the campaign have spread to many communication spheres, becoming very visible not only in different social media but also in mainstream media. It has been very pervasive also thanks to the credibility gained by the children of migrants from the Network for Citizenship Reform and the capacity of their campaign to reach diverse audiences through different channels, which ended up for repeating the same message in effective ways. Finally, the success in terms of pervasiveness is due also to the capacity to make the main message potentially for all the Italians, involving the audiences as part of the campaign referenced group.

Moreover, with respect to transformativity, it is difficult to affirm that the campaign shaped new attitudes and behaviours at the individual and collective level. However, the campaign DPGS helped a lot to mitigate the polarisation effect of the previous campaigns and changed the interpretative frame for a part of the Italian civil society. As our interviewees told us, the campaign has had an important social impact, persuading more and more people to stay by the side of the reform as a question of social justice.

‘Abandoning the discourse on *ius soli* is working well, it polarises less and focuses the discourse on the need to reform (...). We are not here begging for it, it is simply right, and it must be done. Someone more is realising this and is on our side.’ (IT_I_PGS1).

Questioning the ideology of meritocracy is certainly a long-term task, but as the activist Ada Ugo Abara pointed out, the DPGS campaign helped to shake up this rhetoric with its narratives. Concerning the media and more generally the cultural impact the campaign was successful because introduced an alternative frame for discussing the reform and contributed to name/recognize institutional racism in Italy. Regarding the political impact, the campaign has a limited success, because institutional politics has not yet reformed the law. According to our interviewees, the ultimate criterion of success remains the approval of a just reform.

‘In the public discourse, the two central aspects of our communication are starting to come through, which are: first, making people realise that citizenship should be a right and second, 2) unhinging the whole meritocracy narrative (...). Obviously, the maximum criterion for success is the passing of a new law (...). But then there are intermediate goals to assess how we are doing: trivially, for social communication, we have a communication plan where we establish the narrative strands, how many and which interactions we want to achieve (...). On that we do well (...). Another success criterion may be how many realities decide to join the campaign (...). We are also doing well here, but I cannot give you exact numbers, I can only tell you that it is always growing. Then, at the level of lobbying strategy, we monitor how many meetings we have with political referents and how much and how they recognise the path taken by the campaign (...). We have had many meetings and we are increasingly recognised (...). But in the end what really counts is the approval of a new law, the rest is social chatter!’ (IT_I_PGS3)

Summing up, taking the typology of migration narrative success by combining the two analytical dimensions (Garcés-Mascreñas and Pastore 2022), the DPGS campaign has a high degree of pervasiveness and a medium degree of transformativity (good at the level of society and media/culture; low concerning the capacity to change institutional politics).

6. Conclusions

This report has mapped fifteen recent initiatives distinguished by their strategies against exclusionary narratives around migration issues and the visibility they gained. On the basis of this mapping, two were selected for a more in-depth study based on the analysis of the most relevant documents produced within each campaign (communication texts that can be found on the initiatives’ websites and social media pages, and sometimes reported in traditional media) and on fourteen qualitative interviews with active members. *Io Accolgo* and *Dalla parte giusta della storia* (DPGS) have some common characteristics and many differences, a brief analysis of which may be helpful in explaining some elements of their nature and relative success.

Structural differences between the two campaigns...

The most significant elements the two campaigns have in common are that both had the specific objective of reforming a piece of legislation, but also the stated ambition of

intervening at the level of culture, trying to change the perceptions and opinions of a wide public. In addition, both initiatives received excellent media coverage, and this is an indisputable success factor.

In contrast, the most striking difference between the two campaigns concerns the composition of the actors promoting the initiatives. DPGS is promoted and supported entirely by children of migrants; Io Accolgo, on the other hand, united a very large number of civil society organisations, each having distinct identities and ideologies as well as different (sometimes even explicitly conflicting) goals on the issue of the migrant reception system, which was the central theme of their joint campaign.

Thus, a clear difference emerges in terms of identity definition. The identity formation of the members of the DPGS campaign is rooted in the movements of children of immigrants, who in recent years have promoted political actions, but also and foremost discussions about their own role and place in the national community in which they were born and raised. The cohesive identity of the group members was of great importance in sharing goals and strategies. The different identities and ideologies of the members of the Io Accolgo campaign network did not allow for a totally coherent definition of strategies and objectives, as these were the constant result of mediation between different histories and values.

The issue of homogeneity vs. heterogeneity of networks is not limited to questions of identity and values, but also has to do with interests and social position. Io Accolgo is composed of a mix of definitely non-hegemonic actors and of more influential ones, whose proximity to political leaders and parties, vested interests, and economic-cultural power is evident. For this reason, too, common interests have been difficult to define and only under certain conditions can they be reconciled, unlike the network that makes up DPGS, which is made up of clearly non-hegemonic actors. Added to this difference is a generational one. The Io Accolgo network is predominantly made up of people over 50 years old in the top positions of the many organisations promoting the campaign. DPGS, on the other hand, is composed of people under forty (and mostly under 30).

To sum up, the two campaigns show significant structural differences: in terms of internal values and interests (homogeneity vs. heterogeneity), in terms of proximity to power and politics (non-hegemonic vs. partially hegemonic position), in terms of who speaks for whom (natives speaking for migrants vs. children of migrants speaking for themselves) and finally in terms of generational outlook. These differences have had direct effects on media and political strategies, on the experimentation and originality of narratives and also on the different ways in which the two campaigns achieved partial success.

... and how these differences affected outputs and outcomes

The heterogeneity of the Io Accolgo network (both in terms of values and in terms of interests and alliances) meant, on the one hand, that it was difficult to give continuity to the initiative, whose strength stemmed from having a common enemy in a position of power and was diminished by its fall; on the other hand, it made organisation slow. This slowness, which stems from having to reconcile positions before communicating to the outside, made it de facto impossible to use social networks such as Twitter, Instagram and TikTok effectively. In particular, for Io Accolgo's political purposes, the poor use of Twitter was particularly significant, because it prevented it from entering that important arena of political-journalistic discussion. As for Instagram and TikTok, the communicative slowness was compounded by

the generational element. The campaign's lack of success in engaging young people is therefore also a consequence of the structure of the network. On the contrary, DPGS's light, homogeneous network with a clear and recognisable identity allowed the campaign to be more independent of political contingencies and to use social networks effectively and consistently. The generational issue also meant that, while for Io Accolgo the most used social network was Facebook, for DPGS, Facebook was the least important.

The greater proximity to power and politics typical of the leaders of the Io Accolgo campaign has paid off in terms of success in the primary objective of reforming the security decrees. Although a causal link between the reform of the decrees and the campaign cannot be drawn with certainty, the members of Io Accolgo claim that their lobbying was important in bringing different political opinions together. On the other hand, the citizenship law has not yet been reformed and the fact that it never becomes a clear priority for the centre-left political parties is also a result of the activists' non-hegemonic position. However, the activists of DPGS claim to have progressively gained political and public recognition over the years (starting with other migrant children's organisations) and to have woven important alliances with many civil society actors (including many of the organisations that make up the Io Accolgo network). Their presence in the public sphere is therefore more solid today than in the past, even if this has not yet been enough to impose a real political necessity for the reform of the law.

With respect to the ambition to have an impact at the cultural level, changing narratives and - as a consequence - perceptions and opinions, DPGS had greater potential (and arguably a deeper impact) than Io Accolgo. Both initiatives helped to aggregate progressive public opinion, but DPGS introduced an alternative frame to discuss the need of the reform of Italian citizenship law, as an issue of social justice relevant for all the Italian society and not only for migrants and their descendants. In other words, while Io Accolgo developed a counter-narrative of solidarity and reception, without creating anything original in terms of framing, DPGS produced an alternative narrative and tried to disseminate it with a skillful media strategy.

Taking up the categories of narrative success elaborated by Garcés-Mascreñas and Pastore (2022), it can be said that regarding pervasiveness, the two selected initiatives had very good media visibility, but Io Accolgo has been more pervasive in the mainstream journalistic media - especially in those of a progressive orientation - and in engaging organised civil society, while DPGS, while also having had a good journalistic visibility, has mainly made a grassroots effort to reach more diverse audiences and in particular youth audiences.

Concerning transformativity (i.e., the ability to shape attitudes or behaviours at the individual or collective level), both initiatives helped to aggregate progressive public opinion and pushed some political actors to acknowledge the urgency to reform pieces of legislation. However, a broader attempt to change perceptions among a wide public of citizens through the development of an alternative narrative was made by DPGS, not by the Io Accolgo campaign.

In conclusion, these two initiatives and their specific characteristics (similar in intent, very different in many structural aspects) offer an interesting comparison to test various aspects that define the success of communication campaigns, both on a strategic and a narrative level.

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Appendix A: Mapping data

Country code and number	ITA1 (Citizenship/Regularisation)
Name or title	Ero Straniero – L'umanità che fa bene [<i>I was a foreigner – Humanity that does good</i>]
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Campaign open to new adhesions; self-described as “A cultural campaign and a popular initiative law to change the narrative, overcome the Bossi-Fini law and win the challenge of immigration, focusing on reception, work and inclusion”. The Facebook page has now 38.771 followers. During the first six months of the campaign, the promoting organizations have set up about 4,000 stalls for the collection of signatures in hundreds of cities throughout Italy: from large cities to small municipalities that have made an important contribution thanks to the personal commitment of about 150 mayors. The campaign has also been able to count on the adhesion and support of hundreds of personalities, including Pope Francis, who has repeatedly expressed publicly his support for the popular initiative law to change immigration policies in our country.
Date of founding	April 2017
Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	The campaign was born out of the need to take a pragmatic approach to the migration issue in the country: thus, the popular initiative bill entitled “New rules for the promotion of regular residence permits and social and labour inclusion of non-EU foreign citizens” was drafted and deposited with over 90,000 signatures at the Chamber of Deputies on October 27, 2017.
People and entities involved at founding	Radicali Italiani, Fondazione Casa della carità “Angelo Abriani”, ACLI, ARCI, ASGI, Centro Astalli, CNCA, A Buon Diritto, CILD, insieme a Oxfam, ActionAid, Legambiente, Scalabriniani, AOI, Federazione Chiese Evangeliche Italiane (Fcei), Comunità di Sant'Egidio, Fondazione Migrantes, Caritas italiana, CGIL, Altromercato, Emergency and dozens of other organizations, with the support of hundreds of mayors
People and entities involved at today	200 Associations, NGOs, churches, political parties, trade unions have adhered to the campaign until now
Primary target audience (s)	Parliament, government, business associations
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	Opening of entry channels for work; regularization on an individual basis of ‘settled’ foreigners; measures for the inclusion through work of asylum seekers; measures for the enjoyment of matured social security and social security rights and equality in social security benefits; guarantees for a real right to health of foreign citizens; effective participation in democratic life and the abolition of the crime of illegal entry
Secondary audience (s)	Local authorities, media

Secondary aims , topics or issues	Secondary aims have been the proposal of extraordinary measures for the emersion from black labour and the monitoring of the outcomes of regularization measures
Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Proposals of legislative measures, lobbying and advocacy with parliamentarians and the government using letters and documents, public meetings between MPs, institutions, and other organizations, press conferences, social media and traditional media campaigns. Monitoring of regularisation measures. In addition to the website, <i>Ero Straniero</i> maintains a Facebook page, while affiliated associations use Instagram accounts.
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	A person working for the Senate is the coordinator of associations performing specific tasks and organizing events and initiatives. All participating individuals are voluntary and there is no funding.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Activities are in Italy, often in Rome.
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Website, social media, Instagram, petitions and appeals to state authorities, public events.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	A temporary residence permit for seeking employment must be introduced. The activity of intermediation between the demand for work by Italian companies and the offer by foreign workers can be exercised by all public and private entities.
-Narrative 2	It is necessary to reintroduce the sponsor system, originally provided for by the Turco Napolitano law, also by private individuals for the insertion of the foreign citizen in the job market with the guarantee of adequate financial resources and availability of accommodation for the period of stay in the national territory.
-Narrative 3	Legal entry and regularization can also be done ad personam; a system must be implemented to regularize in a routine manner the people who are settled on the territory.
-Narrative 4	The mechanism provided by the law for the regularisation of immigrants is not working. Bureaucratic constraints are causing it to fail.
Documents /information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://erostraniero.radicali.it/la-campagna/ https://www.facebook.com/lumanitachefabene/?ref=page_internal https://erostraniero.radicali.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Dossier-EroStraniero_aprile-2019_DEF.pdf Interview (Marcello Maneri) with one of the promoters.

Country code and number	ITA2 (Arrivals/borders)
Name or title	Io accolgo [<i>I welcome</i>]
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Campaign open to new adhesions; self-described as “an open campaign for those sharing the values of welcome, solidarity and integration”. It’s an initiative that tries to connect several associations(catholic and secular, national and local), NGOs, labour unions, and ordinary people committed with the issue of migration. The promoters are 44. People are asked to adhere, buy (via web site) a thermal blanket, to expose it from window, to organize solidarity events, use social media to spread solidarity ideas, etc.
Date of founding	2018
Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	“To give a shared and strong response to the new, restrictive policies on immigrant and asylum seekers (<i>decreti sicurezza</i>) adopted by the Government and the Italian Parliament in violation of the principles of the Italian Constitution and International humanitarian Conventions”
People and entities involved at founding	A buon diritto, ACLI, ActionAid, AOI, ARCI, ASGI, Caritas, Casa della Carità, Centro Astalli, CEFA, CGIL, Ero Straniero, Sant'Egidio, Finanza Etica, Fondazione Migrantes, Forum Terzo Settore, Gruppo Abele, Legambiente, Oxfam Italia, Medici Senza Frontiere, Save the Children, Refugees Welcome Italia, Unione degli Studenti, and other organisations.
People and entities involved at today	The 44 promoters and lot of ordinary citizens who adhere to the campaign. The Facebook page is followed by 23,037 Facebook profiles.
Primary target audience(s)	Public opinion – Italian citizens
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	Spreading solidaristic ideals toward migration and cultural diversity, specifically related to new arrivals and asylum seekers; create a wide group of people and giving them voice and a network for action.
Secondary audience(s)	The Italian Parliament
Secondary aims , topics or issues	Making these voices loud with the intent of stimulating parliamentary activities for a change of new laws (<i>decreti sicurezza</i>).
Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Public visibility, through public protests, manifestations and the thermal blankets exposed on the building surfaces, website, social media initiatives to be shared by all participants. Local committees and local initiatives with a solidaristic aim. Appeals to State authorities in defence of constitutional principles.
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Coordination of associations performing specific tasks and organizing events and initiatives. All participating individuals are voluntary and there is no funding.

Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Activities are in Italy, in several local contexts, thanks to the mobilization of several local committees.
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Website, social media, petitions and appeals to state authorities, public events and street initiatives.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Italy is full of people who believe in ideals of solidarity and welcome. The right-wing political narrative of hate and fear won't win.
-Narrative 2	The State should defend those principles that are in the Constitution and in European and international right but that the Italian laws are now threatening.
-Narrative 3	Exclusion and discrimination of migrants don't give Italians a more secure society, but indeed they threaten democracy and social cohesion, by producing new social marginality.
-Narrative 4	Migrants enrich the country and we need inclusive policies who recognize and sustain the process of integration.
Documents /information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://ioaccolgo.it/ https://www.facebook.com/campagnaioaccolgo

Country code and number	ITA3 (Citizenship/Regularisation)
Name or title	Anti-discriminatory legal and cultural action for the National Civil Service
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Legal actions and media actions (through press releases and other journalistic work)
Date of founding	Actions started in 2012, but they had a twist in 2015, when success arrived via Supreme Court decision and media actions intensified.
Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Discrimination towards young migrants and second generations in accessing the National Civil Service. In particular the process started with a couple of cases of 2 nd generation young persons that saw their applications rejected for not being Italian citizens, while all the other qualifications fulfilled the call.
People and entities involved at founding	ASGI – Association for the legal studies on immigration (<i>Associazione per gli Studi Giuridici sull'Immigrazione</i>)
People and entities involved at today	Today the action is out but its effects are still working and a reform of the law was successfully introduced by the Italian Parliament in 2017-2018.
Primary target audience(s)	Italian norms regulating the access to the National Civil Service (Italian judges)

Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	Anti-discriminatory acts through trials, allowing young migrants and 2 nd generations the access to the National Civil Service.
Secondary audience(s)	The Italian Parliament and citizens
Secondary aims , topics or issues	Redefining the idea of national community and its borders (the symbolic and cultural effects of contrasting a legal norm and making it change)
Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	The only communicative actions have been produced via ASGI website, press releases, and via privileged contacts with journalists. Among those journalists, an important role was played by Francesco Spagnolo, in his double role of social communication admin for the National Civil Service and journalist for the social news title "Redattore Sociale". Thanks to his activism, the news on trials have reached many times national media and produced also a debate on national television.
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Internal funds of ASGI to cover the legal expenses.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	National
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	ASGI is specialized in legal action on migration. All the lawyers work for ASGI as volunteers. But ASGI also has connections with several cultural associations and was often amongst the promoters of campaigns for reforming laws (on citizenship, on immigration, etc.). Thanks to these connections and its press office, ASGI's goal is also to promote cultural change via communication and social activism. This particular action produced an important judgment from the Constitutional Court in 2015 [119/2015] that redefined the concept of National Community and that obtained an important visibility on national media. The judgment and the cultural pressure both accelerated a parliamentary intervention for a reform of the norms on Civil National Service in 2017 [40/2017].
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Young migrants and second-generation migrants deserve to be part of the Nation and – even if Italy still have a jus sanguinis principle for the recognition of the national citizenship – excluding them from activities that are recognized to their Italian counterpart is an act of discrimination.
-Narrative 2	Being Italian means going to school in Italy, working in Italy. Your community is the place where you are living.
-Narrative 3	
-Narrative 4	

Documents/information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	www.asgi.it News articles and TV programme references Interview (Andrea Pogliano) with the person in charge for advocacy and communication at ASGI (Silvia Canciani) and with journalist and social communication admin of the National Civil Service (Francesco Spagnolo). Several national newspapers articles covering the success of the initiative.
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Country code and number	ITA4 (Citizenship/Regularisation)
Name or title	Punjab Pontino
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	The initiative includes social action-research, press releases and a publication of a book ("Sotto padrone" Feltrinelli editore), the creation of a project for Indian migrants working in agriculture in the "Pontino area", near Rome, and an active role in promoting a strike of Indian seasonal workers and in contributing to the reform of a regional law.
Date of founding	2015 (though it was anticipated by research and militant actions and it has been accompanied and followed by communicative initiatives, including a movie.
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	The founding reasons are the first results of an ethnographic research conducted by Italian researcher Marco Omizzolo on the working conditions of migrant workers (mostly Indians) in agriculture in the Italian area of Pontino.
People and entities involved at founding	Marco Omizzolo, the Italian NGO In-migrazione
People and entities involved at today	Today the action is done, but after its foundation, a few other entities participated in it: FLAI CGIL (labour unions), Amnesty, and the regional authorities of Lazio (for the project Bella Farnia – a recreative and aggregation centre for Indian workers created in the place where they live and work)
Primary target audience(s)	Italian public opinion to raise awareness on labour exploitation in the region
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national- transnational)	Diffusion of the research dossiers (3 dossiers) via website, Facebook page and press releases and journalists' portfolio; organization of the big strike of agricultural migrant workers in 2016, in collaboration with FLAI CGIL, the movie "The harvest" - https://theharvest.it/
Secondary audience(s)	Local authorities and Indian workers
Secondary aims , topics or issues	Changing the working conditions and housing conditions through the project "Bella Farnia" and the pressure to reform the regional law achieved in 2019 with a direct participation in the iter (hearings)

Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Action research and publications (books), several dossiers published on-line and distributed to the press, pressure on government through a strike of agricultural workers, the “Bella Farnia” project, the movie “The Harvest”
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Autonomous resources from the NGO, and the one-year funding from the Lazio Regional Authority for the Bella Farnia Center.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Local activities in the Pontino area, national visibility via legacy media and the website and the Facebook page on the NGO.
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Books, dossiers, press releases, contacts with several journalists, information on website and social media, the strike, pressure on regional authorities, a movie that is free on the web.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Indian workers in agriculture are exploited and condemned to extreme housing conditions. They take drugs daily to survive and some of them have committed suicide.
-Narrative 2	Agricultural migrant workers need better conditions to escape social marginality and build a sense of community for a dignified life.
-Narrative 3	Exploiters should be prosecuted and a law reform is needed.
-Narrative 4	
Documents /information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://www.inmigrazione.it/it/progetti/con-i-sikh-contro-il-caporalato Dossier and press review available on the website https://theharvest.it/ Interview (Andrea Pogliano) with researcher Marco Omizzoli and with the Director of the NGO In-migrazione and the co-leader in the initiative, Simone Andreotti

Country code and number	ITA5 (Arrivals/Borders)
Name or title	Consisting of multiple initiatives organized by a composite network, the campaign had no name. Only single events had titles (see below).
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Network of networks.
Date of founding	Mid-September 2016, with a fundraising dinner that would be held on 2 October 2016. The experience would last until the end of 2017, when refugees left caserma Montello. However, the two networks are still active on similar topics.

Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	During the so-called refugee crisis, the government decided to send 300 refugees to disused barracks (caserma Montello) in a Milan neighbourhood (Zona 8). At the time, parties and movements in the Italian right were spreading fears about refugee arrivals, and in many towns, inhabitants were protesting and even erecting barricades against asylum seekers. How to contrast the fear narrative and to avoid similar reactions?
People and entities involved at founding	The network Zona8solidale (community centres, single activists or people without former experience of activism) and the network Open8 (including associations, teachers, Sentinelli di Milano, Caritas, part of the local parish) with the proactive collaboration of the Social Welfare Municipal Department.
People and entities involved at today	The two networks are still active on similar projects
Primary target audience(s)	The local community
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	Bringing the question back to its local dimension and convincing the various local realities to participate, without being afraid to expose themselves. Reassuring them by showing that there was already a network of volunteers ready to take charge of the refugees. The plan is to guarantee a dignified and transparent welcome to the 300 new inhabitants who have arrived at the Montello barracks, believing that it is neither just nor useful to the neighbourhood to reject them by fomenting fear and mistrust. The fact that everyone - citizens, institutions and managing bodies - plays their part and takes responsibility is seen as the only way for an integration that brings help to those in need and ensures a peaceful coexistence in the neighbourhood. The Montello barracks must not become a closed fortress, but a place that is open and permeable to dialogue and exchange with the neighbourhood. “We would like to get to know the new inhabitants of City Hall 8 better, to introduce them to the neighbourhood and those who already live there, to offer them our help in finding their way around, and to organise social moments together outside and inside the Montello barracks.”
Secondary audience(s)	When the initiative was beginning to work, the audience becomes the general public, in order to give visibility and authority to the people that were working on the issue mediating conflicts, and to introduce a different narrative at the national level.
Secondary aims , topics or issues	To counter political exploitation and polarisation on the issue of welcoming refugees, creating a counter-narrative based on a real reception. To show what the neighbourhood really is, with its contrasts but also with its many associations and civic associations.

<p>Strategies, practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)</p>	<p>They tried to give the floor to everyone, without distinction. In the neighbourhood council they let people speak, whatever their ideas were. And there were many pro-reception people. When the refugees arrived, they let them speak too. From the beginning, the promoters focused on micro-narratives entrusted to people in the neighbourhood, deliberately before the press or politicians spoke: teachers, parents, volunteers, those who had known refugees in previous experiences. Then they created meeting experiences, above all through games, which have their own rules and are reassuring.</p> <p>They organised fundraising dinners, a demonstration with 2,000 people to show their willingness to welcome, two parties, one before the refugees arrived, in front of the barracks, and the other inside the barracks, together with the refugees, with the organisation of a series of activities. The two networks had Facebook pages on which they announced their initiatives, coordinated their activities and spread the news as it arrived.</p> <p>For the second phase, there were professionals who knew how to handle the story. They sent out several press releases and personally wrote articles on a national catholic paper (l'Avvenire) and broadcasted reports on a national radio network (the progressive Radio Popolare). Two journalists were actually part of the promoters. In particular, one of them wrote a press release that was written like a newspaper report, with pictures, testimonies etc. It was copied and pasted first in the US (Washington Post and then other local outlets) and then worldwide (Asia Daily, China news etc.). The news became global with no journalistic work on the part of the publishers (nobody contacted the promoters).</p> <p>One of the strategies was to involve also catholic organisations so that the idea of "the usual left-wing thing that wants to welcome people" would not pass.</p>
<p>Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)</p>	<p>The strategy was to make the most of the associations and experiences in the neighbourhood. Funds were raised (approximately 5,000 euros) but modest sums were needed because the work was all-voluntary. Organised reception (food, accommodation, health care) was managed by the institutions.</p>
<p>Reach (area of activity, geographically)</p>	<p>The neighbourhood (zona 8) but it then spread to other areas of the city.</p>

<p>Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)</p>	<p>See above. Main activities: Fundraising dinner: <i>Cena di Benvenuto - Qui nessuno è straniero</i> (Welcome dinner – Here nobody is foreigner) 2 October, 2016 Solidarity demonstration with refugees: <i>Illuminiamo Le Nostre Stradedi Solidarietà</i> (Let's light up our streets with solidarity) 13 October, 2016 Welcome party outside the barracks with banquets and the presence of institutions, before the arrival of the refugees: <i>Note e sapori dal mondo! Giornata di solidarietà in quartiere</i> (Notes and flavours from the world! Day of solidarity in the neighbourhood), 1 November, 2016 Party inside the barracks with activities organised together with therefugees (football tournament, neighbourhood school choir, etc.): <i>LiberaMontello oltre i muri. Nessuno è illegale</i> (FreeMontello beyond walls. Nobody is illegal), 18-19 March, 2017</p>
<p>Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries</p>	
<p>-Narrative 1</p>	<p>There were fear narratives spread by far-right organisations that had to be contrasted, such as “-3 [days to the refugee's arrival] you can still walk around in shorts; -2 you can still take the dogs out; etc.” and a story about refugees going to gamble money at betting centre.</p>
<p>-Narrative 2</p>	<p>People are coming, not stereotypical categories like ‘foreigners’ or ‘refugees’. Away with all positive and negative prejudices, let us be surprised by individualities, there are people with their individual characteristics. The only categories we recognise are, on the one hand, people who are distant, on the other hand, people who are close, who know the reality of refugees.</p>
<p>-Narrative 3</p>	<p>No one can speak for the citizens of the area: we are not those against, nor those in favour: we are faced with an unprecedented situation and we find a way to deal with it.</p>
<p>-Narrative 4</p>	
<p>Documents/information used for this mapping (including website URLs)</p>	<p>Interview (Marcello Maneri) with one of the promoters. https://www.cantiere.org/16166/zona-8-solidale/ https://www.facebook.com/zona8solidale/ https://www.facebook.com/Open8milano/?ref=page_in ternal</p>

Country code and number	ITA6 (Terrorist/Violent attacks)
Name or title	I'm in Heaven
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Two film production companies, a distribution company and institutional entities together for the production of an anti-racist movie that intends to re-telling the white supremacist terrorist attack that happened in Macerata (Italy) in 2018.
Date of founding	February 2020
Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	The action is a response to the way the facts of Macerata have been narrated in the public space in 2018
People and entities involved at founding	Daniele Gaglianone (director and author), Damiano Giacomelli (co-author with local contacts in the Macerata area, Matteo Tortone (film producer), Enrico Giovannone (film producer and video editor), Film Commission Piemonte, Regione Marche, Malfé Film, Officine Mattoli, Yok Film.
People and entities involved at today	The same involved at the founding + the distribution company ZaLab and several associations and labour unions from the civil society, especially from the city and the area of Macerata: centro sociale SISMA, CISL Macerata, Società Operaia di Mutuo Soccorso di Corridonia.
Primary target audience(s)	A public politically engaged and interested in the migration issues and in white supremacist issues
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	Presenting the movie in international festivals and trying to show the movie on Italian TV with the collaboration of Rai Cinema
Secondary audience(s)	The local community of Macerata, and the local members of national political parties
Secondary aims , topics or issues	Stimulate a discussion in the local civil society and political parties in the Region where facts happened and at the national level
Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Social campaign via social pages of Yuk Film and Malfé Film and from the pages of funding entities (Film Commission Piemonte and Regione Marche), distribution of the movie and press releases from ZaLab + participation/organization of an event in Macerata (cinema Excelsior) the 22 nd of October 2022 to show the work-in-progress and stimulate a debate in the local civil society, with the support of the Università di Camerino, within the project "Ricerca giovani".
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	35.000 euros from Regione Marche and Film Commission for development. More funds are now asked for the production to Rai Cinema, NIK and Tax Credit. And more will be asked for distribution.

Reach (area of activity, geographically)	For the moment the activity reached the local area of Macerata thanks to the mentioned event, and is reaching the national area via social campaigns. Later, it aims to reach the national area via TV distribution and the international via Festivals.
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	The generic Fb pages of two film production companies, the Film Commission and a regional authority (Regione Marche); the event organized in Macerata the 22 nd of October 2021, including reasoning of entities, associations and political members to invite for having a debate on what happened and how that event was narrated and perceived. TO BE DONE: press releases and film distribution from ZaLab.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Make the victims of the supremacist attack visible and give them dignity (the victims were largely neglected by the media at the time the attack was covered) in a process of subjectivation is something we have the moral duty to do, considering how we make them invisible in the public space.
-Narrative 2	Promoting a dialogue between the victims of the attack and the “villain” (Luca Traini) is a second step in the process of subjectivation of the people victims of the attack.
-Narrative 3	Showing the two narrative processes to the public will open a debate on racism, white supremacism, migration in Italy. It is also a way to show that the news and talk show are unable to discuss racism and white supremacism properly, and are often an actor involved in the reproduction of racism itself.
-Narrative 4	
Documents /information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	Facebook page of Malfé Film: https://www.facebook.com/malfefilm Personal participation (Marcello Maneri) at the event in Macerata [22/10/2021], Interview (Andrea Pogliano) with the producer of the movie, Matteo Tortone (Malfé Film).

Country code and number	ITA 7 (Arrivals/Borders)
Name or title	<i>Linea d'ombra</i>
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Association (of volunteers)
Date of founding	2019

Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Migrants are gathering by the thousands in northern Bosnia, on the border with the European Union, in poorly managed camps and on the streets, in unacceptable living conditions. On the border, the Croatian police, assisted and financed by Frontex and the EU, try to block the passage of refugees, illegally and by violent means, succeeding only in part. The association was created to give legal form to its support and information efforts along the Balkan route.
People and entities involved at founding	7 individuals. Other 40-50 people were participating in concrete activities
People and entities involved at today	30-35 members, plus people helping from outside the association (being a member has an insurance cost)
Primary target audience(s)	Everyone
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	To make the living conditions of refugees less unbearable. To denounce the unacceptable situations in the camps and the inhuman behaviour of the border police, but also to show who is responsible for this situation. To try to move a part of public opinion, which is deprived of incentives to be politically active. To bring to light the narrative of migrants who are the first to be aware of their rights. All of this on a transnational scale.
Secondary audience(s)	Elderly people, just because they seem to be more sensitive and can identify with the most prominent promoters, of a certain age.
Secondary aims , topics or issues	To also create a space for sociality among free and equal people. The sense of the trips is not so much to bring concrete aid (we prefer to give economic support to the associations on the spot that spend the money in Bosnia to the benefit of the local economy) but to keep the network active, to talk to the Bosnian population, to get information, to talk to each other.
Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Meet with refugees in Trieste bringing daily help. Organizing trips to Bosnia (33 so far) reporting on all of them on Facebook and local newspapers. 3-5 times a day news contents are uploaded on Facebook: pictures and accounts aimed at impressing, involve, bring awareness and mobilise people. Two of the promoters are elderly people with a strong humanity and personality that work perfectly for this communication. Members of the association promote meetings with school pupils, shot documentaries, published newspaper articles, participated in TV shows. Every now and then they

	published press releases, for example when two promoters were indicted for aiding and abetting illegal immigration for financial gain. After this press release 2,000 people signed a document in which they declared themselves willing to self-disclose for the same offence.
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	As participation is on a voluntary basis, there are few resources for communication. The annual budget is more than 200,000 euros, donated by individuals, other charities, companies. It was the fundraising that prompted the establishment of the formal association. Linea d'Ombra is part of the <i>Rivolti ai Balcani</i> (Towards the Balkans) network, but is also networked with associations in various parts of Europe and in Bosnia.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Interventions and meetings happen at the Eastern Italian border, in Bosnia, but occasionally, via the network of associations, in other places in Europe.
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	One documentary, several reportages published on Pressenza (International news agency) and Melting Pot (Italian website dedicated to immigration); Calls on the national press to address the refugee issue. Denunciation petition on Change.org which reached 70,000 signatures (considered useless). Much attention paid to communicating well the work done; this way the media seek them out and multiply their message. There is a professional communicator.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Rights cannot be enshrined in a piece of paper, a passport, a constitution, a law. People have rights simply because they exist, because they have a body.
-Narrative 2	The European Union is historically primarily responsible for the migration crisis and the inhuman conditions in which so many people find themselves. It is a responsibility that is still being pursued today with ever increasing budgets.
-Narrative 3	In order to survive the necropolitics of capitalism and various nationalisms, we need to create spaces of sociality between free and equal people, outside the logic of economic exploitation.
-Narrative 4	Being active and aware is in itself the original political act. Democracy does not lie in the state, but in the relationship between society and the state.

Documents /information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://www.lineadombra.org/#chiamo https://www.facebook.com/lineadombraODV Interview (Marcello Maneri) with one of the promoters
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Country code and number	ITA 8 (Terrorist/Violent attacks)
Name or title	“Contro ogni fascismo, razzismo e sessismo” (Against fascism, racism and sexism)
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Social movement (composed by collectives, NGOs, associations, individuals)
Date of founding	Macerata, 10 February 2018
Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	A response to the white supremacist terrorist attack of 3 February 2018, when -during the electoral campaign- a Nazi-fascist militant shot all the Black people he encountered, injuring six African migrants.
People and entities involved at founding	Centri Sociali delle Marche (Sisma di Macerata; Palestra popolare di Macerata...); Movimento migranti e rifugiati di Caserta; Centri sociali del NordEst e di altre parti d'Italia; Non Una Di Meno; ANPI (grassroots, not the formal national association); ARCI (grassroots, not the formal national association); CGIL (grassroots, not the formal national association); Libera (grassroots, not the formal national association); citizens from all Italy
People and entities involved at today	At a local level, more than three years of socio-cultural initiatives under the slogan “Macerata=A ³ ” (=Antifascist, Antiracist and Antisexist) to change the mainstream narrative on the facts of 3/2/08 and to make visible the part of the Italian society who wants to live with migrants peacefully, with the same rights
Primary target audience (s)	Italian civil society
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	Elaborating collectively the trauma of the terrorist attack at the local and national level; fighting fascism and (anti-black) racism in Italy, understanding its structural roots
Secondary audience (s)	Institutions; national centre-left associations
Secondary aims , topics or issues	Contesting institutional politics on migrations and the political instrumentalization of gender issues within racist propaganda

<p>Strategies, practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)</p>	<p>Local public meetings; national demonstration (Macerata); social media campaigns (Melting pot; Global project; Non Una di Meno) meetings, artistic events to keep alive the antiracist, antifascist and antisexist spirit of the demonstration of 3/2/18 (https://www.facebook.com/MCugualeA3). For instance, Posters of big dimension (6m x 3m), one year after the demonstration, to communicate that the antiracist movement is still alive in Macerata (https://www.facebook.com/526759227814958/posts/529986124158935/) Photography exhibition on the anti-racist demonstration of 3/2/18 (https://www.facebook.com/events/317105132260776/?ref=newsfeed), in dozens of places in Macerata (cafés and shops). Urban Stickers Attack (in cooperation with illustrators from the festival “Ratata”): stickers created on the topics of the demonstration (antiracism, antifascism and anti-sexism), with the logo of MC=A³, to communicate that the movement is still alive and present in the city after years.</p>
<p>Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)</p>	<p>30.000 people; Self-funded (network called “Agire nella crisi” as basis for the organization together with the Self-governing organized social centre Sisma from Macerata).</p>
<p>Reach (area of activity, geographically)</p>	<p>Local: Macerata; National: Italy</p>
<p>Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)</p>	<p>Global Project e Melting Pot (Italian social movement journalism) through their websites, Facebook pages and accounts twitter. Website, Facebook page and account twitter of the social centre Sisma from Macerata. Public letters from 60 Arci clubs (leftist) to their national board (dissenting from the pro-government choice not to participate in the demonstration): https://www.pressenza.com/it/2018/02/manifestazione-antifascista-macerata-sospesa-la-lettera-dei-circoli-arci-disobbedienti/</p>
<p>Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries</p>	
<p>-Narrative 1</p>	<p>“It starts with an f but it’s not madness” (follia, in Italian). This is not an isolated episode or the act of a ‘madman’. Fascism has ideologically armed the bomber; fascism is still present in Italian society and has international links. Mainstream media and institutional political discourse end up legitimising fascism for too many years. Antifascism is</p>

	internationalist; Italian Antifascism in its history includes <i>Black Partisans</i> (such as those of Mario's Band, active 30 km from Macerata).
-Narrative 2	Racism in Italy is not new. Racism killed in Italy many other people; racism killed for instance Emmanuel Chidi Nnamdi in 2016 not very far from Macerata (Fermo, Marche Region). Racism is strictly connected with economic exploitation and it keeps on killing, i.e., in the agricultural sector in the South of Italy. Racism comes from above; Italian citizens and migrants should stay united to fight institutional racism.
-Narrative 3	Femicides should not be politically exploited to legitimise securitarian policies and violent policies against migrants (see agreements with Libya by the then Interior Minister Minniti, centre-left). Women do not need "white vigilantes". Feminism is anti-racist and anti-fascist.
-Narrative 4	
Documents /information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IE-8EI56-k8&t=169s (interventions by young Afro-Italian women from Macerata during the demonstration, 3/2/08) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kP05WStmd0A (intervention by Mamadou Sy, Movimento di migranti e rifugiati di Caserta) https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43018306?SThisFB https://www.lemonde.fr/europe/article/2018/02/10/italie-des-milliers-de-manifestants-antifascistes-a-macerata_5254914_3214.html https://www.france24.com/fr/20180210-italie-macerata-manifestation-antifascisme-fusillade https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2018-02/italien-macerata-demonstration-rassismus https://www.aljazeera.com/videos/2018/2/11/italy-anti-racism-protest-after-migrant-shooting https://www.globalproject.info/it/in_movimento/inizia-per-f-ma-non-e-follia/21282 https://www.globalproject.info/it/in_movimento/tempo-di-riscatto-e-insubordinazione-oltre-30000-a-macerata-contro-ogni-fascismo-sessismo-e-razzismo/21308 https://pl-pl.facebook.com/CSASISMA/videos/intervento-di-matteo-petracci-alla-manifestazione-del-10-febbraio-

	<p>2018/172140100675245/ https://www.globalproject.info/it/in_movimento/la-manifestazione-di-macerata-vista-dai-media-internazionali/21310 http://www.euronomade.info/?p=10240 https://www.globalproject.info/it/tags/tentata-strage-fascista/community https://www.cronachemaceratesi.it/2019/2/10/assemblea-simbolo-a-macerata-contro-il-governo-fascioleghista-e-populista-sul-palco-uno-dei-feriti-da-traini/1210348/</p> <p>Personal communication (Annalisa Frisina) with Marco Sirotti (Global project, information website) and with Gabriella Ciarlantini (consigliera comunale di Macerata, gruppo <i>A sinistra per Macerata-Macerata bene comune</i>).</p>
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Country code and number	ITA 9 (Citizenship/Regularisation)
Name or title	G2 activism for the reform of the Italian citizenship law (with the support of rappers)
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Advocacy Network composed by children of migrants in Italy
Date of founding	G2 Network, 2005
Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Organising children of migration in Italy (with many diverse backgrounds) to work as a pressure group influencing policy makers with the goal of changing the Italian citizenship Law 91/1992 mainly based on “ius sanguinis” .
People and entities involved at founding	Children of migration in Italy (with many diverse backgrounds) who strive for their rights
People and entities involved at today	Children of migration in Italy (now the network includes very different age groups). Since 2020, strong collaboration with the antiracist collective called “Black Lives Matters-Italy”, especially with BLM-Rome.
Primary target audience(s)	Policy makers
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	Recognizing the Italian citizenship for children of migrants born or raised in Italy since childhood who are “strangers in their country” (national)
Secondary audience(s)	Italian civil society
Secondary aims , topics or issues	Transforming an exclusionary/racial idea of Italianness

<p>Strategies, practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)</p>	<p>(a selection)</p> <p>2008-Straniero a chi?/Foreign to whom? (music cd including 13 artists raised in Italy with many diverse cultural origins who claim to be recognized as Italian citizens)</p> <p>2011 “L’Italia sono anch’io” campaign (the G2 network cooperated with other 19 entities of the Italian civil society) collected more than 200.000 signatures to change the Italian citizenship law (and also to give the right to administrative vote to migrant residents in Italy)</p> <p>2012 “Caro Presidente” (rap song with videoclip where Amir Issaa talks to the -former- president of the Italian Republic Giorgio Napolitano to listen to the request of the children of migrants (see petition with more than 10.000 signatures). Napolitano mentioned the issue in his New Year speech</p> <p>Among the other songs:</p> <p>2006, “Straniero nella mia nazione” (Amir Issaa), rap song</p> <p>2008, “Umano Normale” (Zanko el Arabe blanco/Zhudi Fahle), rap song</p> <p>2008, “Onde G2” (Mike Samaniego), rap song (and radio broadcast at Radio Popolare, Mi)</p> <p>2011, “Sono nato qui (Valentino, rap song for the documentary 18 Ius Soli, Fred Kuwornu)</p> <p>2017, “Afroitaliano” (Tommy Kuti), rap song</p> <p>2017, “Leone” (Diamante), rap song</p> <p>2018, “Cara Italia” (Ghali), rap song</p> <p>2020, “Sono nato qua” (Luca Neves, feat Amir Issa), rap song</p>
<p>Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)</p>	<p>The core group are about 30 people. The network includes people on a voluntary basis and there is no funding.</p>
<p>Reach (area of activity, geographically)</p>	<p>Italy</p>

<p>Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)</p>	<p>Social media campaigns, cooperation with mainstream media (Metropoli-La Repubblica...)</p> <p>2017 “Un rap per lo ius soli” /La Repubblica (https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2017/07/08/news/tommy_laioung_e_amir_tra_rap_e_voglia_di_cittadinanza-170256311/?ref=RHPPBT-BH-I0-C8-P1-S1.8-T1)</p> <p>https://video.repubblica.it/dossier/riforme-da-non-tradire/un-rap-per-lo-ius-soli-amir-issaa-tutti-fratelli-e-sorelle-nonostante-il-colore-della-pelle/279970/280564)</p> <p>2nd of JUNE 2021, Roma. “Our lives Matter, our voices matter”: Black Lives Matter-Roma and Rete G2 (with other groups) have launched a mobilisation on the non-application of Article 4 of Law 91 of 1992, which establishes the possibility of acquiring citizenship for young people (18 years old) born in Italy to foreign parents.</p>
<p>Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries</p>	
<p>-Narrative 1</p>	<p>Children of migrants in Italy are political subjects. They are fighting as pressure group for their citizenship rights. The policy makers must listen to them, changing the Italian citizenship law 91/1992. Rap songs, such as Amir Issaa’s ones, can help to reach a wider audience and to press institutional politics.</p>
<p>-Narrative 2</p>	<p>Children of migrants in Italy have many diverse backgrounds. They transform Italianness with their multiple belongings, having diasporic cultural repertoires and transnational family ties. Rap songs, such as Tommy Kuti’s ones, can help to reach a wider audience and to transform the dominant representation of (white) Italianness.</p>
<p>-Narrative 3</p>	<p>The battle for citizenship of children of migrants in Italy is part of a wider anti-racist struggle, where young afro-descendants are more and more active thanks to the global BLM mobilisations (especially since June 2020).</p>
<p>-Narrative 4</p>	

<p>Documents/information used for this mapping (including website URLs)</p>	<p>https://www.secondegenerazioni.it/ Facebook: La Rete G2-SecondeGenerazioni and G2 https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCIBINXwBn7qYcY- OaeUwK0g Parlamentaria Twitter: Rete G2 http://www.litaliasonoanchio.it/fileadmin/materiali_italiaanchio/pdf/ Cittadinanza PROGETTO DI LEGGE.pdf <i>Dear President</i>, Amir Issaa (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTaB0Rljx4s ; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2EsRiID6bE) Amir Issaa, <i>Vivo per questo</i>, 2017, Milano, ChiareLettere. Tommy Kuti, <i>Ci rido sopra. Crescere con la pelle nera nell'Italia diSalvini</i>, 2019, Rizzoli. I was born here, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YdApS5kd0Kw (mentioned as an anti-racist claim in the documentary <i>Black Lives Matters. A Global Reckoning</i>. E1. Italy. https://www.vicetv.com/en_us/video/italy/6014813145f5d169284984a1) https://www.facebook.com/BlackLivesMatterRoma Official/ https://www.secondegenerazioni.it/la-cittadinanza-ai-18-anni/ https://www.secondegenerazioni.it/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Dossier_La_cittadinanza_ai_18_anni.pdf Personal communication (Annalisa Frisina) with Mohamed Tailmoun, political spokesperson of the G2-Network since its foundation in 2005.</p>
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Country code and number	ITA 10 (Citizenship/Regularisation)
Name or title	Italians without citizenship
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Informal movement of young people (children of migrants in Italy)
Date of founding	10/2016
Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Urging the Senate to definitively approve the reform of citizenship Law 91/92 (already approved by the Chamber of Deputies on 13/10/2015)
People and entities involved at founding	Children of migrants
People and entities involved at today	Children of migrants
Primary target audience (s)	Italian Parliament
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	Definitively approving the reform of citizenship Law 91/92
Secondary audience (s)	Civil Society

Secondary aims , topics or issues	Fighting other discriminatory juridical norms (see “Salvini decree”,2018) and limiting discretionality in the application of the current citizenship law. Moreover, requesting a moratorium for the income requirement to obtain the citizenship (see pandemic emergency and new economic difficulties).
Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	2016, Flash mob “Ghosts by Law” in Rome, Palermo, Reggio Emilia, Napoli and Bologna 2016-, Social Media Campaign “Italians without Vote” 2017, Social Media Campaign “True Italians” (during SanRemoFestival) 2018 “Io sono Rosa Parks”, the video wins MigrArti award. 2021 “Know your rights: guida pratica al diritto di cittadinanza” (in collaborazione con la Coalizione Italiana Libertà e Diritti civili) 2021 Photostories, “Obiettivo Cittadinanza” con Cittadinanzattiva
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Activism on a voluntary basis, no funding. No possible to reconstruct the size.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Italy
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	2016 Postcards from the Italians without citizenship (published by LaRepubblica, in the front page of the newspaper) 2018, video “Io sono Rosa Parks” at Venice Film Festival (http://iosonorosaparks.it/) Different degrees of professionalism (there are professional journalist such as Paula Baudet Vivanco) and an increasing use of social media influencer (such as Sonny Olumati)
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	“We are Italians not recognized/legitimized”. There are more than one million people born or raised in Italy since childhood who are not considered Italians by the Italian State because they are children of migrants. But they are Italians, without citizenship, without an Italian passport. The law 91/1992 must change.
-Narrative 2	The movement “Italians without citizenship” is the main protagonist. It promotes political and cultural initiatives that other civic society actors can support, as allies. The legitimacy/recognition will come through the activism within Italian civil society, through transversal alliances with many different subjects (see teachers for citizenship, such as Franco Lorenzoni).
-Narrative 3	
-Narrative 4	

Documents/information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://www.facebook.com/italianisenzacittadinanza/ www.italianisenzacittadinanza.org https://cild.eu/blog/2021/06/15/know-your-rights-la-nostra-nuova-guida-al-diritto-di-cittadinanza/ Personal communication (Annalisa Frisina) with the journalist PaulaBaudet Vivanco (co-founder of the movement)
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Country code and number	ITA 11 (Citizenship/Regularisation)
Name or title	“Dalla parte giusta della storia” (On the right side of the history)
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Civil society network composed by individuals, associations/NGOs and collectives
Date of founding	July 2020
Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Changing the Italian Citizenship Law n. 91/1992 because - “there are more than one million people waiting for citizenship in Italy” - “the Law n. 91/1992 is outdated and incapable of interpreting today’s Italy” - “today, Italian citizenship is not a right but an arbitrary concession”
People and entities involved at founding	QuestaèRoma, Italiani Senza Cittadinanza, Arising Africans, FestivalDiversity, Afroveronesi, BlackLivesMatter Bologna, Rete SaltaMuri, ActionAid, Collettivo Ujamaa (among the activists: Susanna OwusuTwumwah, Ada Ugo Abara, Anthony Chima, Kaaj Tshikalandand)
People and entities involved at today	More (single) activists
Primary target audience(s)	Italian civil society
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	National: changing Italian citizenship law n. 91/1992
Secondary audience(s)	Italian institutions
Secondary aims , topics or issues	Institutional racism and discrimination
Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Press releases, social media campaign (on-going), protests in streets (especially in Rome, using as symbols of the campaign yellow shirts (to communicate “joy and power”; and a colourful hot air balloon “to fly high” and “to look far away”).
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Mainly self-funded (through selling gadgets of the campaign); some private donations (see the case of ActionAid). The network is based on volunteers and at the

	moment it is not possible to quantify its size.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Italy
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	<p>November 2020, Ciclo di incontri (on line) di advocacy: "La Staffetta per la cittadinanza" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mHVBLFpHUVk)</p> <p>"Letter to the Prime Minister Mario Draghi" (12/2/2021), https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSd9qFp2S8V7pbsVHtUv3JKd8FscAokhqbvqX78uNwVPjBp64A/viewform</p> <p>Campaign "Il mio voto vale" (2021) https://ilmiovotovale.com/?fbclid=IwAR3Zcv4AOzevEmulq76egu8xqpl99La6J6z6uG3JKtdwtpWBhFD1DSh0MeY</p>
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	There are moments that change the history of a country and the lives of millions of people. Think of the vote for women (1946), the divorce law (1970), law 194 for the social protection of motherhood and the right to abortion (1978) and the approval of civil unions (2016). These are civil battles that have divided opinion in order to win rights that today seem inalienable. The time has come again to "change history", recognising the right to citizenship for those born or growing up in Italy. To make Italy a fairer place once again.
-Narrative 2	The reform must concern first of all those who are born and grow up in Italy (so called second generations), but it must also include those who live permanently in Italy (first generation of migrants), because we need faster procedures and certain criteria for everyone. It is a question of justice, against institutional racism.
-Narrative 3	"A different idea of citizenship for a different idea of society". Italian society has changed with migration; changing citizenship acknowledges this transformation and it will be easier to create alliances between citizens who, by recognising each other, can fight together against discrimination, for a fairer society for all.
-Narrative 4	

Documents /information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://www.instagram.com/dallapartegiustadellastoria/ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=75MNqNGsCVw&t=59s https://drive.google.com/file/d/1mbkHh40xnbOvanJC4hj8vPZv9KPq_fYaC/view https://dallapartegiustadellastoria.it/ https://mobile.twitter.com/cittadinanza_21 https://www.valigiablu.it/riforma-cittadinanza-italiana/ https://m.facebook.com/Dalla-Parte-Giusta-della-Storia-110072104659214/ Personal Communication (Annalisa Frisina) with Susanna OwusuTwumwah (co-founder)
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Country code and number	ITA 12 (Arrivals/Borders)
Name or title	“Passports, no more privileges”
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Network of citizens and associations (proponents of the petition)
Date of founding	2021
Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Review visa policy and guarantee freedom of movement for all world citizens
People and entities involved at founding	Voci Globali APS; Articolo 21; Associazione per gli Studi Giuridici sull'Immigrazione, Carta di Roma, Casa della Cooperazione (Palermo), Circolo Articolo 21 Piemonte, CISS (Cooperazione Internazionale Sud Sud), COSPE, Festival dei Diritti umani (FDU), Focus On Africa, Fondazione Gariwo, Hic Sunt Leones: Dalla parte di Nice, Lasciateci Entrare, Nigrizia, Osservatorio Diritti, Progetto Melting Pot Europa, Radio Voce nel Deserto (Rovigo), ResQ Saving People, Spazi Circolari; Migreurop, Refugee Legal Support, Refugees Welcome España, Pressenza (International Press Agency)
People and entities involved at today	Almost 3000 citizens signed the petition
Primary target audience(s)	Civil society
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	To encourage a serious mobilisation at the national and at the European levels to put in discussion mobility inequality
Secondary audience(s)	Italian Prime Minister, President of the European Parliament, European Governments leaders
Secondary aims , topics or issues	Revise visa policies in such a way to grant African citizens and all other citizens in the world that today can't travel with legal method, the same right and freedom of movement enjoyed by European people

Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Petition, social media campaigns
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Self-funded, crowdfunding (donations with gadgets)
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Italy; Europe
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	High degree of professionalism (professional journalists involved in the campaign)
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Passport Indexes – tools that rank passports and identify the <i>most powerful</i> and the <i>least powerful</i> ones – periodically highlight the gap in the right to movement between rich countries and countries of the Global South. Such gap has become wider and wider because of the pandemic over the last two years. If we won't put an end to mobility inequality all other disparities won't decrease.
-Narrative 2	The externalization of the borders won't stop migration. So-called illegal migration is primarily caused by social injustice. And is made "illegal" by the impossibility to exercise a universal right: the right to movement. The loss of human lives due to this migratory regime is unjust and unjustifiable.
-Narrative 3	
-Narrative 4	
Documents /information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://vociglobali.it/passports-stop-to-privileges/ https://www.passportindex.org/byRank.php https://www.valigiablu.it/migranti-africa-passaporti/ https://vociglobali.it/2021/10/19/diritto-alla-mobilita-solo-per-i-ricchi-per-gli-altri-passaporti-inutili/

Country code and number	ITA 13 (Terrorist/Violent attacks)
Name or title	"In memory of Soumaila Sacko"
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Informal network: USB (grassroots trade union); different actors of local, national and international civil society (Netherlands); two artists and a curator (Sarah Giofré; Chiara S. Mosciatti and Nelson Carrilho); REDENI association (Rete diaspora Africana Nera in Italia); Soumaila Soumahoro (president of the Lega Braccianti)
Date of founding	2018

Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Soumaila Sacko was a trade union activist, coming from Mali. He was killed not far from Reggio Calabria, in the South of Italy. His work helped represent migrants working in agriculture under inhumane conditions.
People and entities involved at founding	USB; different actors of local and national civil society
People and entities involved at today	USB; different actors of local, national and international civil society (Netherlands); two artists and a curator (Sarah Giofr�; Chiara S. Mosciatti and Nelson Carrilho); REDENI association (Rete diaspora Africana Nera in Italia)
Primary target audience(s)	Civil society and Italian mass-media
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	Keeping alive the memory of Soumaila Sacko, recognising the structural roots (economic exploitation) of racism that affects African migrants working in agriculture in Italy.
Secondary audience(s)	(Migrant) workers in agriculture, public institutions
Secondary aims , topics or issues	Supporting the struggles of migrant workers in agriculture, to change their work and living conditions.
Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Press releases, social media campaigns, arts installations such as the monument by Nelson Carrilho "The other face/L'altra faccia. Scultura in bronzo in memoria di Soumaila Sacko", San Ferdinando (RC), 29-30 Gennaio 2022
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Mainly self-funding. Difficult to quantify the people involved, even with personal contacts with some of the main actors.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Local, national, international
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Mainly local media (Gazzetta del Sud...). Every day activities of USB in the name of Sacko. Crowdfunding to support the local street union (where many migrant workers are involved) and change the situation of farmworkers in Italy, who live in poor housing conditions, in the absence of health care and the possibility of vaccination against Covid (USB with Centro Sociale Nuvola Rossa). See also 2021 assembly to commemorate Soumaila by purchasing mobile vehicles for the street union. Social media campaigns to sustain the art works in memory of Soumaila Sacko.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Soumaila Sacko was a farmer who, due to climate change, was forced to leave Mali and arrived in Calabria, in the South of Italy. There he worked in the agriculture and joined USB to claim rights collectively. He was killed because of racial hate against black people and against migrants from the Global South, fuelled by politicians such as Salvini. He was killed also because he was a (migrant) trade unionist and his killer, Antonio Pontonero (who injured other two migrants), is one of the region's farm-owners. Another USB migrant unionist (Abd Elsalam Ahmed Eldanf,

	2016, Piacenza) was killed because of his activism in the field of logistics.
-Narrative 2	Migrant workers are political subjects who keep revolting against the inhumane conditions under which they work and lives. In 2010 there was a big revolt of migrants against racial violence and economic exploitation in Rosarno (Calabria), followed with intense interest by the national and international media. In the USB street union, there are many union leaders who have a migrant background. After the killing of Sacko his fellow labourers went on strike and organised demonstrations. The memory of Soumaila Sacko keeps alive the fight for emancipation of all farm labourers, with and without a migrant background.
-Narrative 3	There are workers standing united (“Exploited first”) against racist propaganda (“Italians first”). The memory of Sacko is an antibody against those who create “wars between the poor” and above all against policies that impoverish all workers. The same day when Sacko was killed, the leader of Italy’s far-right party La Lega (at the time, interior minister in charge of immigration) said that “the party time for illegal immigrants was coming to an end”, but working in the fields in Southern Italy is not at all a “party time” (“pacchia”).
	Working as “irregular migrants” means being more exploitable. The condition of irregularity is caused by an unjust law and governments’ refusal to grant papers to most of migrants working there.
-Narrative 4	
Documents /information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	<p>https://www.rainews.it/archivio-rainews/articoli/Il-migrante-ucciso-nel-Vibonese-era-un-sindacalista-nessun-furto-8af1d7a0-364a-4e86-ab6f-4f3e4a08a8c4.html?wt_mc=2.social.tw.rainews_xxx.&wt</p> <p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mcKMIaNqfQo (USB press conference)</p> <p>https://calabria.integrazione.org/in-memoria-di-soumaila-sacko-lusb-ricorda-il-migrante-sindacalista/</p> <p>https://www.usb.it/leggi-notizia/soumaila-sacko-i-legali-di-usb-e-delle-altre-parti-civili-chiedono-di-confermare-i-22-anni-a-pontoriero-lomicida-e-tornato-in-carcere-1438.html</p> <p><a 876="" 907="" 938="" 955"="" data-label="Page-Footer" href="https://tg24.sky.it/catanzaro/2022/01/11/bracciante-</p> </td> </tr> </table> </div> <div data-bbox=">69</p>

	<p>ucciso-torna-in- carcere-presunto-omicida#:~:text=(ANSA)%20%2D%20CATANZARO%20C%2011,u cciso%20nel%20giugno%20del%202018</p> <p>https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/salvini-and-racist-immigration-policy-of-italy-s-new-government-is-giving-green-light/</p> <p>https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2018/6/27/racist-attacks-in-italy-the-problem-did-not-start-today</p> <p>https://www.reggiotoday.it/cronaca/soumaila-sacko-braccianti-usb-migranti.html</p> <p>Bianca Stancanelli, La pacchia (The good time), Zolfo editore, 2019(https://www.zolfoeditore.it/scheda-libro/bianca-stancanelli/la-pacchia-9788832206074-611.html)</p> <p>https://www.facebook.com/soumailaandi/?ref=page_ internal (Soumaila&I, Art project devoted to Soumaila Sacko)</p> <p>https://www.raiplay.it/video/2021/11/Un-giorno-in-Pretura---Schiavi-Mai---13112021-b8e8340a-9d8d-4dcb-8344-66e8bf51693a.html (Nov. 2021, Un giorno in Pretura, “SchiaviMai/Never Slaves”)</p> <p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QfX8rTM5S_M (Il Monumento per Soumaila Sacko...”The Other Face”)</p> <p>https://www.produzionidalbasso.com/project/il-monumento-per-soumaila-sacko/?fbclid=IwAR1en7tOdiakWikHreTqciDqG8xZ_TqT5q392SZcIBZSLcXlxA0_gRu1Ebk</p> <p>Personal communication (Annalisa Frisina) with Peppe Marra (USB, Reggio Calabria).</p>
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Country code and number	ITA14 (Arrivals/borders)
Name or title	No name (whole intervention in Ventimiglia). The exhibition: Eufemia. The submerged and the rescued (<i>Eufemia. I sommersi e salvati</i>)
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	At first a collective in Ventimiglia, named <i>Progetto 20k</i> (Project 20k) then a network of activists coming to and going back from the frontier. The Exhibition has been organized by an informal group of people.
Date of founding	2016-2017. Still active

<p>Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)</p>	<p>During the so-called refugee crisis, migrants wanting to reach Northern Europe were stuck in Ventimiglia, at the border between Italy and France, as the border had been closed. In front of the informal encampment outside the town, <i>Progetto 20K</i>, a collective of activists formed in that occasion, established an Infopoint aimed at meeting and helping migrants. During these encounters—which involved migrants, activists, researchers, students, social workers, and artists—migrants’ oral and written accounts and drawings, together with a photo reportage, were the occasions for a collective reflection on the experience, that would become the Eufemia exhibition.</p>
<p>People and entities involved at founding</p>	<p><i>Progetto 20K</i>, joined at the Infopoint by researchers of the Visual Sociology Lab (<i>Laboratorio di Sociologia Visuale</i>) of Genoa University, Milotta/Donchev collective of artists, and the Observatoire des migrations dans les Alpes-Maritimes (Université Côte d’Azur). All these subjects worked at the exhibition</p>
<p>People and entities involved at today</p>	<p>The same, but with a high turnover of participants to <i>Progetto 20k</i></p>
<p>Primary target audience(s) <u>Support in Ventimiglia</u></p>	<p>For the core activities of <i>Progetto 20k</i>, the FB communication, gatherings and public meetings reached mainly other activists. However, other activities were aimed at reaching the citizens of Ventimiglia and university students</p>
<p>Primary aims, topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational) <u>Support in Ventimiglia</u></p>	<p>Originally, supporting freedom of movement, ensuring further travel across the border. Next, in the face of the continued repetition of these hardships, the aim was to understand the mechanisms and create an awareness of the border as a device that is intertwined with race, class, and gender. Local, national and sometimes transnational scale</p>
<p>Secondary audience(s) <u>Exhibition</u></p>	<p>General public of the <i>Festival del Mare</i> (Sea Festival, Genoa); university students (Nice); high school students (Ventimiglia and Mentone)</p>
<p>Secondary aims, topics or issues <u>Exhibition</u></p>	<p>To produce a collective narration that is a polyphony of messages and thoughts, at the same time art and public sociology, which reflects and makes people think about the phenomenon of migration, about the many faces of concepts like “sea”, “travel”, and “border” through the direct experience and the traces left by the people that generally are not allowed to have a voice.</p> <p>To rethink the role of Social Sciences and art in their telling of the present, putting them into the battlefield of ideas where cultural and symbolic hegemony is constructed. To denounce the hardships caused by the</p>

	contemporary border regime.
Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	<i>Progetto 20k</i> opened an Info/internet point in a rented space in front of the migrants' encampment called Eufemia. The Infopoint was used as an occasion of gathering and exchange at the same time. A summer school was also held there with university students, a geographer, and artists, from which the idea for the exhibition was born. After a year and a half, the Infopoint was forced to close by pressure from local authorities. The activity continued with a moving van and soon with the rent of a new house/infopoint in Ventimiglia. In the meantime, a house in the nearby mountains was rented to serve as a base and provide lodging for activists and people in transit with particular vulnerabilities. There, summer camps and agricultural projects have been organized in which migrants have been involved, some of whom have since decided to stay. These activities aimed at monitoring possible abuses against migrants. Activists shared their knowledge about the frontier, its risks, and the opportunities that were opening up. Material support for the travel was also provided. The art installation was aimed at denouncing what happens at the frontier.
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	<i>Progetto 20k</i> counts about one thousand activists, characterised by a high turnover. Funding has come from events organised in social centres, but also from scouts organizations, foreign churches and organizations, micro-funding, merchandise. The budget was, at the peak during the Infopoint activity, around 3,000 euro per months. More than 30 people have worked at the exhibition, to whom other people working during the installation can be added. The budget was around 1,500 euro for the preparation and 1,000 for each installation.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	The support activities of <i>Progetto 20k</i> take place in Ventimiglia and Val Roja, from where the help of locals come. But communication is addressed to many places in Italy and funding involves also many EU countries, with a big role of Germany and the UK. The exhibition was held in Genoa and Nice. In the following months it will arrive in Ventimiglia and Mentone.

Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Four exhibitions organized by artists, students, and researchers. Other channels are meetings organised in schools, university seminars, gatherings and public meetings, a FB page with reportages, accounts, video interviews and other video materials, documentaries. A website is in the making. Social media experts were involved and activists attended a training course in the use of social media to promote campaigns. Informatics are helping with the website. Scholars were involved in seminars.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	The drive to move forward in search of the desired life is stronger than all the obstacles put in between
-Narrative 2	Movement is a right, but there is a huge discrimination in its exercise.
-Narrative 3	The border system produces violence and its experience intersects with class, gender, and race.
-Narrative 4	There are different ways to think and inhabit the world
Documents /information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://www.facebook.com/progetto20k/ https://www.laboratoriosociologiavisuale.it/new/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Catalogo-Eufemia-ITA-FRA-Web-.pdf Interview (Marcello Maneri) with one of the promoters.

Country code and number	ITA 15 (Terrorist/Violent attacks)
Name or title	“In ricordo di Idy Diene” (remembering Idy Diene)
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Network of social movements in collaboration with associations and with the support of local institutions
Date of founding	No official founding: initiatives started after the first homicide and gained new energy after the second

Founding reason /event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	On March 5, 2018, on the Vespucci bridge in Florence, the Senegalese street vendor Idy Diene was killed by a man who thought he was going to commit suicide but chose instead to shoot him among all the passers-by he had met. The episode closely resembles the killing, on December 13, 2011, of two Senegalese street vendors Samb Modou and Diop Mor, at the market in Piazza Dalmazia by a right-wing extremist who then took his own life. Idy Diene had married the widow of one of the two slaughtered compatriots 7 years before.
People and entities involved at founding	<i>Rete antirazzista</i> (anti-racist network of social movements), and associations, among which the association in support of the victims' families
People and entities involved at today	The same as at the time of founding, but associations and social movements now work together
Primary target audience(s)	Local institutions
Primary aims , topics or issues (also indicate scale as local-national-transnational)	Remembering the victims of the attack, emphasize the racist and fascist character of the murders (that the media and institution tend to forget). Local-national
Secondary audience(s)	State institutions
Secondary aims , topics or issues	Pursuing migrants' rights: <i>ius soli</i> ; refugees' welcome and inclusion; overcoming the requirement of a residence permit to be able to work; overcoming the detention centres for migrants
Strategies , practices and means (e.g., press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	After the killings, protest demonstrations and material support to the victims' families. On the Vespucci Bridge, at the place where Idy was murdered, flowers and messages were left for a long time. Campaigns with petitions for the affixing of a commemorative plaque. Annual commemorations of the killings, where all the three victims are celebrated together. Affixing of plaques that underline the fascist and racist character of the murders, a reference that is absent in the official plaques (the one for the murder of Diene, although deliberated by the City Council, has not yet been placed). Presentation, on the occasion of the initiatives for the memory of the victims, of a film on street vendors and on the killings of both Samb and Modou and Idy ("Va pensiero" by Dagmawi Yimer).

<p>Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)</p>	<p>Associations such as ARCI supported the initiatives, which were mainly participated by the anti-racist network. About 100 people, mostly Senegalese, attended the demonstration after the killing of Samb and Modou, but more than 10,000, according to the newspaper <i>La Repubblica</i>, attended the demo after Idu's killing, which was promoted by a wide range of social and political forces and in which presences from other cities were recorded. Only about 10 people normally participate at the official yearly commemorations, but they become about 100 in the afternoon, when those organized by associations and social movements take place. Funds have been collected only for families of murdered people.</p>
<p>Reach (area of activity, geographically)</p>	<p>Florence and regional; after the killings national</p>
<p>Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)</p>	<p>Social media, the press, email, sympathetic radios, leaflets, direct discussions and confrontation with local institutions</p>
<p>Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries</p>	
<p>-Narrative 1</p>	<p>Only anti-racist participation can inject society with effective antibodies against a racism that is increasingly present both socially and in institutions.</p>
<p>-Narrative 2</p>	<p>It is time to recognise the jus soli, to cancel the places of detention for migrants, to overcome the subordination of the possibility to work to the possession of a residence permit, a valid system of reception and inclusion for asylum seekers and refugees must be put in place.</p>
<p>-Narrative 3</p>	<p>We need tools for participation of natives and migrants in city government, at every level.</p>
<p>-Narrative 4</p>	<p>It is necessary to increasingly intertwine social issues with environmental ones (the inclusion of migrants must be linked to the protection and recovery of territories that risk degradation and abandonment).</p>
<p>Documents/information used for this mapping (including website URLs)</p>	<p>Interview (Marcello Maneri) with one of the promoters who consulted documents in his personal archive.</p>

Appendix B: List of interviewees

Code	Name	Gender	Case Study	Role
IT_I_IA1	Filippo Miraglia	Man	Io Accolgo (I welcome)	Head of the Social, Immigration and International Area and Vice President at ARCI. Among the main coordinators and promoters of Io Accolgo
IT_I_IA2	Gazia Naletto	Woman	Io Accolgo (I welcome)	Former president of Lunaria, an association for which she coordinates research and activities against racism and discrimination. Among the promoters of Io Accolgo
IT_I_IA3	Elena Rozzi	Woman	Io Accolgo (I welcome)	Migration Advocacy officer at INTERSOS and member of ASGI. She was among the main creators and promoters of Io Accolgo
IT_I_IA4	Marcello Volta	Man	Io Accolgo (I welcome)	Former journalist, CIAC communications manager, one of the promoters of Io Accolgo, for which he edited the website and social media
IT_I_IA5	Stefano Trovato	Man	Io Accolgo (I welcome)	Member of the national executive of CNCA and one of the promoters of Io Accolgo
IT_I_IA6	Paula Vivanco	Woman	Io Accolgo (I welcome)	Co-founder of Italians without Citizenship, which is one of the associations involved in Io Accolgo
ITA_I_PGS1	Kwanza Musi Dos Santos	Woman	Dalla Parte Giusta della Storia (On the Right Side of History)	Co-founder Network for Italian Citizenship Reform-On the Right Side of History
IT_I_PGS2	Paula Vivanco	Woman	Dalla Parte Giusta della Storia (On the Right Side of History)	Co-founder Rete G2 previously, then co-founder Italians without Citizenship
IT_I_PGS3	Ada Ugo Abara	Woman	Dalla Parte Giusta della Storia (On the Right Side of History)	Communication Group, Network for Italian Citizenship Reform -On the Right Side of History
IT_I_PGS4	Marwa Mahmood	Woman	Dalla Parte Giusta della Storia (On the Right Side of History)	Co-founder Italians without Citizenship
IT_I_PGS5	Susanna Owusu	Woman	Dalla Parte Giusta della Storia (On the Right Side of History)	Communication Group, Network for Italian Citizenship Reform -On the Right Side of History
IT_I_PGS6	Anthony Chima	Man	Dalla Parte Giusta della Storia (On the Right Side of History)	Engagement Group, Network for Italian Citizenship Reform -On the Right Side of History
IT_I_PGS7	Sumaya Abdel Qader	Woman	Dalla Parte Giusta della Storia (On the Right Side of History)	Co-founder Young Muslim of Italy association, activist before in Italians without Citizenship, then Network for Italian Citizenship Reform -On the Right

				Side of History
IT_I_PGS8	Selam Tesfai	Woman	Dalla Parte Giusta della Storia (On the Right Side of History)	Antiracist activist, Cantiere, Milan; in collaboration with Italians without Citizenship

BRIDGES

Assessing the production and impact of migration narratives

BRIDGES: Assessing the production and impact of migration narratives is a project funded by the EU H2020 Framework Programme for Research and Innovation and implemented by a consortium of 12 institutions from all over Europe. The project aims to understand the causes and consequences of migration narratives in a context of increasing politicisation and polarisation around these issues by focusing on six European countries: France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom. To do so, BRIDGES adopts an interdisciplinary and co-productive approach and is implemented by a diverse consortium formed by universities, think tanks and research centres, cultural associations, and civil society organisations.

The **BRIDGES Working Papers** are a series of academic publications presenting the research results of the project in a structured and rigorous way. They can either focus on particular case studies covered by the project or adopt a comparative perspective.

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